WALKER'S

APPEAL,

IN FOUR ARTICLES,

TOGETHER WITH

A PREAMBLE

TO THE

COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD,

BUT IN PARTICULAR AND VERY EXPRESSLY TO THOSE OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Written in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, Sept. 28th, 1829.

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APPEAL, &c.

My dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow Citizens—

Having travelled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having in the course of my travels taken the most accurate observation of things as they exist—the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshakened conviction, that we (coloured people of these United States) are, the most degraded, wretched and abject set of beings, that ever lived since the world began, and I pray God, that none like us ever may live until time shall be no more. They tell us of the Israelites in Egypt, the Helots in Sparta, and of the Roman Slaves, which last, were made up from almost every nation under heaven, whose sufferings under those ancient and heathen nations, were, in comparison with ours, under this enlightened and Christian nation, no more than a cypher—or in other words, those heathen nations of antiquity, had but little more among them than the name and form of slavery; while wretchedness and endless miseries were reserved, apparently in a phial, to be poured out upon our fathers, ourselves, and our children by Christian Americans.

These positions, I shall endeavour, by the help of the Lord, to demonstrate in the course of this appeal, to the satisfaction of the most incredulous mind—and may God Almighty, who is the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, open your hearts to understand and believe the truth.

The causes my brethren, which produce our wretchedness and miseries, are so very numerous and aggravating, that I believe the pen only of a Josephus or a Plutarch, can well enumerate and explain them. Upon subjects, then, of such incom-

prehensible magnitude, so impenetrable, and so notorious, I shall be obliged to omit a large class of, and content myself with giving you an exposition of a few of those which do indeed rage to such an alarming pitch, that they cannot but be a perpetual source of terror and dismay to every reflecting mind.

I am fully aware, in making this appeal to my much afflicted and suffering brethren, that I shall not only be assailed by those whose greatest earthly desires are, to keep us in abject ignorance and wretchedness, and who are of the firm conviction that heaven has designed us and our children, to be slaves and beasts of burden to them and their children.—I say I do not only expect to be held up to the public as an ignorant, impudent and restless disturber of the public peace, by such avaricious creatures, as well as a mover of insubordination—and perhaps put into prison or to death, for giving a superficial exposition of our miseries, and exposing tyrants. But I am persuaded, that many of my brethren, particularly those who are ignorantly in league with slave-holders or tyrants, who acquire their daily bread by the blood and sweat of their more ignorant brethren—and not a few of those too, who are too ingnorant to see an inch beyond their nose, will rise up and call me cursed—Yea, the jealous ones among us will perhaps use more abject subtlety, by affirming that this work is not worth perusing; that we are well situated and there is no use in trying to better our condition, for we cannot. I will only ask one question here—Can our condition be any worse? Can it be more mean and abject? If there are any changes, will they not be for the better, though they may appear for the worst at first? Can they get us any lower? Where can they get us? They cannot treat us worse; for they well know the day they do it they are gone. But against all accusations, which may or can be prefer-

red against me, I appeal to heaven for my motive in writing—who knows that my object is, if possible to awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of enquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in this *Republican land of Liberty!!!!!!*

The sources from which our miseries are derived, and on which I shall comment, I shall not combine in one, but shall put them under distinct heads and expose them in their turn; in doing which, keeping truth on my side, and not departing from the strictest rules of morality, I shall endeavour to penetrate, search out, and lay them open for your inspection. If you cannot or will not profit by them, I shall have done *my* duty, to you, my country and my God.

And as the inhuman system of slavery, is the source from which most of our miseries proceed, I shall begin with that curse to nations; which has spread terror and devastation through so many nations of antiquity, and which is raging to such a pitch at the present day, in Spain and in Portugal. It had one tug in England, in France, and in the United States of America, yet the inhabitants thereof, do not learn wisdom, and erase it entirely from their dwellings and from all with whom they have to do. The fact is, the labor of slaves comes so cheap to the avaricious usurpers, and is of such great utility to the country where it exists, that those who are actuated only by sordid avarice, overlook the evils, which will as sure as the Lord lives, follow after the good. In fact, they are so happy to keep in ignorance and degradation, and to receive the homage and labor of the slaves, they forget that God rules in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, having his ears continually open to the cries, tears and groans of his oppressed people. And being a just and holy Being will at one day appear fully in behalf of the oppressed, and arrest the progress of the avaricious oppressors; for although the destruction of

the oppressors God may not effect by the oppressed, yet the Lord our God will bring other destructions upon them—for not unfrequently will he cause them to rise up one against another, to be split and divided, and to oppress each other, and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand. Some may ask what is the matter with this united and happy people? Some say it is caused by political usurpers, tyrants, oppressors, &c. But has not the Lord an oppressed and suffering people among them? Does the Lord condescend to hear their cries, and see their tears in consequence of oppression? Will he let the oppressors rest comfortably and happy always? Will he not cause the very children of the oppressors to rise up against them, and oftimes put them to death? God works in many ways his wonders to perform.

I will not here speak of the destructions which the Lord brought upon Egypt, in consequence of the oppression and consequent groans of the oppressed—of the hundreds and thousands of Egyptians whom God hurled into the Red Sea for afflicting his people in their land—of the Lord's suffering people in Sparta or Lacedemon, the land of the truly famous Lycurgus—nor have I time to comment upon the cause which produced the fierceness with which Sylla usurped the title, and absolutely acted as dictator of the Roman people—the conspiracy of Cataline—the conspiracy against, and murder of Cæsar in the Senate house—The spirit with which Marc Antony made, himself master of the Commonwealth—His associating Octavius and Lipidus with himself in power—Their dividing the provinces of Rome among themselves—their attack and defeat on the plains of Phillippi the last defenders of their liberty, (Brutus and Cassius)—the tyrrany of Tiberius—and from him to the final overthrow of Constantinople by the Turkish Sultan, Mahomed, II. A. D. 1453. I say I shall not take up time to speak of the *causes* which produced so much

wretchednes and massacre among those heathen nations, for I am well aware that you know too well, that God is just, as well as merciful. I shall call your attention a few moments to that Christian nation, the Spaniards—while I shall leave almost unnoticed, that avaricious and cruel people, the Portuguese, among whom, all true hearted Christians and lovers of Jesus Christ, must evidently see the judgments of God displayed.

To shew the judgments of God upon the Spaniards, I shall ocupy but little time, leaving a plenty of room for the candid and unprejudiced to reflect.

All persons who are acquainted with history and particularly the Bible, who are not blinded by the God of this world, and are not actuated by an avaricious spirit—who are able to lay aside prejudice long enough to view candidly and impartially, things as they were, are, and probably will be—who are willing to admit that God made man to serve Him alone, and that man should have no other Lord or Lords but Himself, that God Almighty is the sole proprietor or master of the whole human family, and will not on any consideration admit of a colleague, being unwilling to divide his glory with another.—And who can dispense with prejudice long enough to admit that we are *men*, notwithstanding our improminent noses and woolly heads, and believe that we feel for our fathers, mothers, wives and children, as well as they do for theirs. I say all who are permitted to see and believe these things, can easily recognize the judgments of God among the Spaniards. Though others may lay the cause of the fierceness with which they cut each others throats to some other circumstance, yet they who believe that God is a God of justice, will believe that *Slavery* is the principal cause.

While the Spaniards are running about upon the field of battle cutting each others throats, has not the Lord an afflicted and suffering people in the midst of them, whose cries and groans in consequence of

oppression are continually pouring into the ears of the God of justice? Would they not cease to cut each other's throats if they could? But how can they? The very support which they draw from government to aid them in cutting each other's throats, does it not arise in a great degree from the wretched victims of oppression among them? And yet they are calling for Peace!—Peace! Will any peace be given unto them? Their destruction may indeed be procrastinated awhile, but can it continue long, while they are oppressing the Lord's people? Has he not the hearts of all men in his hand? Will he suffer one part of his creatures to go on oppressing and treating another like brutes, always, with impunity? And yet, these avaricious wretches are calling for *Peace!!!!* I declare, it does appear to me, as though some nations think God is asleep, or that he made the Africans for nothing else but to dig their mines and work their farms, or they cannot believe history, sacred or profane. I ask every man who has a heart and is blessed with the privilege of believing—Is not God, a God of justice to *all* his creatures?—Do you say he is? Then if he gives peace and tranquility to tyrants, and permits them to keep our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our children in eternal ignorance and wretchedness, would he be to us a God of justice? I ask, O! ye Christians, who hold us and our children in the most abject ignorance and degradation, that ever a people were afflicted with since the world began—I say, if God gives you peace and tranquility and suffers you thus to go on, afflicting us and our children, who have never given you the least provocation—would he be to us a God of justice? If you will allow that we are men, who feel for each other, does not the blood of our fathers and of us their children cry aloud to the Lord of Sabaoth against you for the cruelties with which you have and do continue to afflict us. But it is time for me to close my remarks on the suburbs just to en-

ter more fully into the interior of this system of cruelty and oppression.

ARTICLE 1.

OUR WRETCHEDNESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF SLAVERY.

My beloved brethren:—The Indians of North and of South America—the Greeks—the Irish, subjected under the king of Great Britain—the Jews, that ancient people of the Lord—the inhabitants of the Islands of the Sea—in fine, all the inhabitants of the Earth, (except, however the sons of Africa) are called men, and of course are, and ought to be free.—But we, (colored people) and our children are *brutes*, and of course are, and ought to be *slaves* to the American people and their children, forever—to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them, from one generation to another with our *blood* and our *tears* !!!!!!

I promised in a preceding page, to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the most incredulous, that we, (coloured people of these United States of America) are the most wretched, degraded and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began.—And that the white Americans having reduced us to the wretched state of slavery treat us in that condition more cruel (they being an enlightened and Christian People,) than any Heathen Nation did any People whom it had reduced to our condition.—These affirmations are so well confirmed in the minds of all unprejudiced men, who have taken the trouble to read Histories, that they need no elucidation from me, but to put them beyond all doubt; I refer you in the first place to the children of Jacob, or of Israel in Egypt, under Pharoah and his people.—Some of my Brethren do not know who Pharoah and the Egyptians were—I know it to be a fact, that some of them take the Egyptians to have been a gang of Dev-

ils,not knowing any better,and that they (Egyptians) having got possesson of the Lord's people, treated them nearly as cruel as Christian Americans do us at the present day. For the information of such, I would only mention that the Egyptians, were Africans, or coloured people, such as we are--some of them yellow, and others dark--a mixture of Ethiopians and the natives of Egypt—about as you see the coloured people in the United States at the present day. I say, I call your attention then, to the children of Jacob, while I point out particularly to you his son Joseph, among the rest, in Egypt.

"And Pharaoh, said unto Joseph, thou shalt be "over my house, and according unto thy word shall "all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I "be greater than thou."*

"And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set "thee over all the land of Egypt."†

"And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, "and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or "foot in all the land of Egypt."‡

Now, I appeal to Heaven and to Earth, and particularly to the American People themselves, who cease not to declare that our condition is not hard and that we are, comparatively, satisfied to rest in wretchedness and misery, under them and their children.--Not, indeed, to show me a coloured President, a Governor, a Legislator, a Senator, a Mayor, or an Attorney at the Bar.—But to show me a man of colour, who holds the low office of a constable, or one who sits in a Juror Box, even on a case of one of his wretched brethren, throughout this great Republic !!—But let us pass Joseph the son of Israel a little farther in review, as he existed with that heathen nation.

"And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-"paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the "daughter of Potipherah priest of On. And Joseph "went out over all the land of Egypt."‖

*See Genesis, chap. xli. v. 40. † v. 41. ‡v. 44. ‖v. 45.

Compare the above, with the American institutions. Do they not institute laws to prohibit us from marrying among the whites? I would wish, candidly, however, before the Lord, to be understood, that I would not give a *pinch of snuff* to be married to any white person I ever saw in all the days of my life. And I do say it, that the black man, or man of colour, who will leave his own colour (provided he can get one, who is good for any thing) and marry a white woman, to be a double slave to her, just because she is white, ought to be treated by her, as he surely will be, viz: as a *Neger!!!!* It is not, indeed, what I care about inter-marriages with the whites, which induced me to pass this subject in review; for the Lord knows, that there is a day coming when they will be glad to get into the company of the blacks, notwithstanding we are, in this generation, levelled by them, almost on a level with the brute creation: and some of us they treat even worse than they do the brutes that perish. I only made this extract to show how much lower, we are held, and how much more cruel we are treated by the Americans, than were the children of Jacob by the Egyptians.—We will notice the sufferings of Israel some farther, compared with ours, under the enlightened Americans.

"And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, thy "father and thy brethren are come unto thee:"

"The land of Egypt is before thee: in the best "of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; "in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou "knowest any men of activity among them, then "make them rulers over my cattle."*

I ask those people who treat us so *well*, Oh! I ask them, where is the most barren spot of land which they have given unto us? Israel had the most fertile land in all Egypt. Need I mention the very notorious fact, that I have known a poor man of colour, who laboured night and day, to acquire a

*Genesis, xlvii.—v. 5—6.

little money, and having acquired it, he vested it in a small piece of land, and got him a house erected thereon, and having paid for the whole he moved his family into it, where he was suffered to remain but nine months when he was cheated out of his property by a white man, and driven out of door. And is not this the case generally? Can a man of color buy a piece of land and keep it peacably? Will not some white man try to get it from him, even if it is in a mud hole? I need not comment any farther on a subject which all, both black and white will readily admit. But I must, really, observe that in this very city, when a man of colour dies, if he owned any real estate it most generally falls into the hands of some white person—the wife and children of the deceased may weep and lament if they please, but the estate will be kept snug enough by its white possessor.

But to prove farther that the condition of the Israelites was better under the Egyptians than ours is under the whites. I call upon the professing Christians, I call upon the Philanthropist, I call upon the very tyrant himself, to show me a page of history, either sacred or profane, on which a verse can be found which maintains, that the Egyptians heaped the insupportable insult upon the children of Israel, by telling them that they were not of the human family. Can the whites deny this charge? Have they not, after having reduced us to the deplorable condition of slaves, under their feet, held us up, as descending originally from the tribes of Monkies, or Orang-Outangs ? O ! my God! I appeal to evry man of feeling—is not this insupportable ? Is it not heaping the most gross insult upon our miseries, because they have got us under their feet, and we cannot help ourselves ? O ! pity us we pray thee, Lord Jesus, Master.—Has Mr. Jefferson declared to the world, that we are inferiour to the whites, both in the endowments of our bodies and of minds ? It is indeed surprising, that a man of such great

learning, combined with such excellent natural parts, should speak so of a set of men in chains. I do not know what to compare it to, unless, like putting one wild deer in an iron cage, where it will be secured, & hold another by the side of the same, then let it go, and expect the one in the cage to run as fast as the one at liberty.—So far my brethren, were the Egyptians from heaping these insults upon their slaves, that Pharaoh's daughter, took Moses, a son of Israel for her own, as will appear by the following.

"And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, take this "child away, and nurse it for me, and I will pay "thee thy wages. And the woman took the child "[Moses] and nursed it."

"And the child grew, and she brought him unto "Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And "she called his name Moses: and she said because "I drew him out of the water."*

In all probability, Moses would have become Prince Regent to the throne, and no doubt in process of time but he would have been seated on the throne of Egypt. But he had rather suffer shame, with the people of God, than to enjoy pleasures with that wicked people, for a season. O! that the coloured people were long since of Moses' excellent disposition, instead of courting favor with, and telling news and lies to our natural enemies, against each other--aiding them to keep their hellish chains of slavery upon us. Would we not long before this time have been respectable men, instead of such wretched victims of oppression as we are? Would they be able to drag our mothers, our fathers, our wives, our children and ourselves, around the world in chains and hand-cuffs, as they do, to dig up gold and silver for them and theirs? This question, my brethren, I leave for you to digest; and may God Almighty force it home to your hearts. Remember, that unless you are united, keeping your tongues within your teeth,

*See Exodus, chap. ii. v 9, 10.

you will be afraid to trust your secrets to each other, and thus perpetuate our miseries under the *Christians!!!!!!*

I saw a paragraph, a few years since, in a South Carolina paper which, speaking of the barbarity of the Turks, it said "The Turks are the most barbar-"ous people in the world—they treat the Greeks "more like brutes than human beings." And in the same paper was an advertisement, which said: "Eight well built Virginia and Maryland Negro fel-"lows, and 4 wenches, will positively be sold, this "day, to the highest bidder!" And what astonished me still more, was, to see in this same *humane* paper!! the cuts of three men, with clubs and budgets on their backs, and an advertisement, offering a considerable sum of money for their apprehension, and delivery. I declare, it is really so funny to hear the Southerners and Westerners of this country talk about barbarity, that it is, positively enough to make a man smile.

The suffering of the Helots among the Spartans, were somewhat severe it is true, but to say that theirs, were as severe as ours among the Americans, I do most strenuously deny—for instance, can any man show me an article on a page of ancient history, which specifies, that, the Spartans chained, and hand-cuffed the Helots, and draged them from their wives and children, children from their parents, mothers from their suckling babes, wives from their husbands, driving them from one end of the country to the other? Notice the Spartans were heathens, who lived long before our Divine Master made his appearance in the flesh. Can Christian Americans deny these barbarous cruelties? Have you not Americans, having us subjected under you, added to these miseries, by insulting us in telling us to our face, because we are helpless, that we are not of the human family? I ask you, O! Americans, I ask you, in the name of the Lord, can you deny these charges? Some perhaps may deny, by saying, that they never thought

or said that we were not men. But do not actions speak louder than words ?—have they not made provisions for the Greeks, and Irish ? Nations who have never done the least thing for them, while we, who have enriched their country with our blood and tears—have dug up gold and silver for them and their children, from generation to generation, and are in more miseries than any other people under heaven, are not seen, but by comparatively, a handfull of the American people ? There are indeed, more ways to kill a dog, besides choaking it to death with butter. Further—The Spartans or Lacedemonians, had some frivolous pretext, for enslaving the Helots, for they (Helots) while being free inhabitants of Sparta, stirred up an intestine commotion, and were, by the Spartans subdued, and made prisoners of war. Consequently they and their children were condemned to perpetual slavery.*

I have been for years troubling the pages of historians, to find out what our fathers have done to the Americans, to merit such condign punishment as they have inflicted on them, and do contrive to inflict on us their children. But I must aver, that my researches have hitherto, been to no effect. I have therefore, come to the immovable conclusion, that they (Americans) have, and do continue to punish us for nothing else, but for enriching them and their country. For I cannot conceive of any thing else. Nor will I ever believe otherwise, until the Lord shall convince me.

The world knows that slavery as it existed among the Romans, (which was the primary cause of their destruction) was comparatively speaking, no more than a cipher, when compared with ours, under the Americans. Indeed, I should not have noticed the Roman slaves, had not the very learned and penetrating, Mr. Jefferson said, "when a master was "murdered, all his slaves in the same house, or

* See Dr. Goldsmith's History of Greece—page 9. See also, Plutarch's Lives. The Helots subdued by Agis, king of Sparta.

"within hearing, were condemned to death."*—Here let me ask Mr. Jefferson, (but he is gone to answer at the bar of God, for the deeds done in his body while living,) I therefore ask the whole American people had I not rather die, or be put to death, than to be a slave to any tyrant, who takes not only my own, but my wife and children's lives by inches? Yea, would I meet death with avidity far! far!! in preference to such servile submission to the murderous hands of tyrants. Mr. Jefferson's very severe remarks on us have been so extensively argued upon by men whose attainments in literature, I shall never be able to reach, that I would not have meddled with it, were it not to solicit each of my brethren, who has the spirit of a man, to buy a copy of Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and put it in the hand of his son. For let no one of us suppose that the refutations which have been written by our white friends are enough—they are whites, we are blacks. We, and the world wish to see the charges of Mr. Jefferson refuted by the blacks themselves, according to their chance; for we must remember, that what the whites have written respecting this subject, is other men's labors, and did not eminate from the blacks. I well know, that there is some talents and learning among the coloured people of this country, which we have not a chance to develope, in consequence of oppression; but our oppression ought not to hinder us from acquiring all we can.—For we will have a chance to develope them by and by. God will not suffer us, always, to be oppressed—our sufferings will come to an end, in spite of all the Americans this side of eternity.—Then we will want all the learning and talents among ourselves, and perhaps more, to govern ourselves.—"Every dog must have its day," the American's is coming to a close.

But let us review Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us some further.—Comparing our miserable fathers, with the learned philosophers of Greece, he

* See his Notes on Virginia, page, 210.

says, † "Yet notwithstanding these and other dis-
"couraging circumstances among the Romans, their
"slaves were often their rarest artists. They excel-
"led too, in science, insomuch as to be usually em-
"ployed as tutors to their master's children; Epic-
"tetus, Terence and Phædrus, were slaves,—
"but they were of the race of whites. It is not their
"condition, then, but nature which has produced the
"distinction."---See this, my brethren!! Do you be-
live that this assertion is swallowed by millions of the whites? Do you know that Mr. Jefferson was one of as great characters as ever lived among the whites? See his writings for the world, and public labors for the U. S. of America. Do you believe that the assertions of such a man, will pass away into oblivion unobserved by this people and the world? If you do you are much mistaken—See how the American people treat us—have we souls in our bodies? are we men, who have any spirits at all? I know that there are many swell-bellied fellows among us, whose greatest object is to fill their stomachs.—Such I do not mean—I am after those who know and feel, that we are men, as well as other people; to them, I say, that unless we try to refute Mr. Jefferson's arguments respecting us, we will only establish them.

But the slaves among the Romans. Every body who has read history, knows, that as soon as a slave among the Romans obtained his freedom, he could rise to the greatest eminence in the State, and there was no law instituted to hinder a slave from buying his freedom. Have not the Americans instituted laws to hinder us from obtaining our freedom? Do any deny this charge? Read the laws of Virginia, North Carolina, &c. Further, have not the Americans instituted laws to prohibit a man of colour from obtaining and holding any office, whatever, under the government of the U. States of America? Now, Mr. Jefferson tells us, that our condition is not so hard, as the slaves were under the Romans!!!!!!

———†See his notes on Virginia, page 211.

It is time for me to bring this article to a close.—But before I close it, I must observe to my brethren that at the close of the first Revolution in this country, with Great Britian, there were but thirteen States in the Union, now there are twenty four, most of which are, slave-holding States, and the whites are draging us around in chains and in hand-cuffs to their new States and Territories to work their mines and farms, to enrich them and their children—and millions of them believing firmly that we being a little darker than they, were made by our creator to be an inheritance to them and their children forever—the same as a parcel of *brutes !!!!!*

Are we men?—I ask you, O! my brethren, are we men? Did our creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves? Are they not dying worms as well as we? Have they not to make their appearance before the tribunal of heaven, to answer for the deeds done in the body, as well as we?—Have we any other master but Jesus Christ, alone? Is he not their master as well as ours? What right then, have we to obey and call any other master but himself? How we could be so submissive to a gang of men, whom we cannot tell whether they are as good as ourselves, or not, I never could conceive. However, this is shut up with the Lord and we cannot precisely tell—but I declare, we judge men by their works.

The whites have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority.—We view them all over the Confederacy of Greece, where they were first known to be any thing, (in consequence of education) we see them there, cutting each other's throats—trying to subject each other to wretchedness and misery—to effect which, they used all kinds of deceitful, unfair, and unmerciful means.—We view them next in Rome, where the spirit of tyranny and deceit raged still higher.—We view them in Gaul, Spain and in Britain—in fine we view them all over Europe, togeth

er with what were scattered about in Asia and Africa, as heathens, and we see them acting more like Devils than accountable men. But some may ask, did not the blacks of Africa, and the Mullattoes of Asia go on in the same way, as did the whites of Europe. I answer, No—They never were half so avaricious, deceitful and unmerciful as the whites, according to their knowledge.

But we will leave the whites or Europeans as heathens, and take a view of them as christians, in which capacity we see them as cruel, if not more so, than ever. In fact, take them as a body, they are ten times more cruel, avaricious and unmerciful than ever they were; for while they were heathens, they were bad enough, it is true, but it is positively a fact, that they were not quite so audacious as to go and take vessel loads of men, women and children, and in cold blood, and through devilishness,—throw them into the sea, and murder them in all kind of ways. While they were heathens, they were too ignorant for such barbarity. But being Christians, enlightened and sensible, they are completely prepared for such hellish cruelties. Now suppose God were to give them more sense, what would they do? If it were possible would they not dethrone Jehovah and seat themselves up on his throne? I therefore, in the name and fear of the Lord God of heaven and of earth, divested of prejudice either on the side of my colour or that of the whites, advance my suspicion of them, whether they are as good by nature as we are or not. Their actions, since they were known as a people, have been the reverse, I do indeed suspect them, but this as I before observed is shut up with the Lord, we cannot exactly tell, it will be proved in succeeding generations. The whites have had the essence of the gospel as it was preached by my master and his apostles—the Ethiopians have not, who are to have it in its meridian splendor—the Lord will give it to them, to their satisfaction. I hope and pray my God, that they will make good use of it, that it may be well with them.

ARTICLE 2.

OUR WRETCHEDNESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF IGNORANCE.

Ignorance, my brethren, is a mist, low down into the very dark, and almost impenetrable abyss of which, our fathers for many centuries have been plunged. The Christians, and enlightened of Europe, and some of Asia, seeing the ignorance and consequent degradation of our fathers, instead of trying to enlighten them, by teaching them, that religion, and light with which God had blessed them, they have plunged them into wretchedness ten thousand times more intolerable, than if they had left them entirely to the Lord, and to add to their miseries, deep down into which they have plunged them, tell them, that they are an inferiour and distinct race of beings. Which they will be glad enough to recal and swallow by and by. Fortune and misfortune, two inseparable companions, lay roled up in the wheel of events, which have from the creation of the world, and will continue to take place among men until God shall dash worlds together.

When we take a retrospective view of the Arts and Sciences—the wise legislators, the Pyramids, and other magnificient buildings, the turning of the channel of the river Nile, by the sons of Africa or of Ham, among whom learning originated, and was carried thence into Greece, where it was improved upon and refined. Thence among the Romans, and all over the then enlightened parts of the world, and it has been enlightening the dark and benighted minds of men from then, down to this day. I say, when I view retrospectively, the renown of that once mighty people, the children of our great progenitor I am indeed cheered. Yea further, when I view that mighty son of Africa, Hannibal, one of the greatest generals of antiquity, who defeated and cut off so many thousands of the white Romans or murderers, and who, carried his victorious arms,

to the very gates of Rome, and I give it as my candid opinion, that, had Cartharge been well united and had given him good support, he would have carried that cruel and barbarous city by storm. But they were disunited, as the coloured people are now in the United States of America, the reason our natural enemies are enabled to keep their feet on our throats.

Beloved brethren—here let me tell you and believe it, that the Lord our God, as true as he sits on his throne in heaven, and as true as our Saviour died to redeem the world, will give you a Hannibal, And when the Lord shall have raised him up, and given him to you for your possession. Oh! my suffering brethren, remember the divisions and consequent sufferings of Carthage and of Hayti. Read the History particularly of Hayti, and see how they were butchered by the whites, and do you take warning. The person whom God shall give you, give him your support, and let him go his length, and behold in him, the salvation of your God. God will indeed, deliver you through him, from your deplorable and wretched condition, under the Christians of America. I charge you this day before my God to lay no obstacle in his way, but let him go.

The whites want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us. As true as the Sun ever shone in its meridian splendour, my colour will root some of them out of the very face of the earth. They shall have enough of making slaves of, and butchering, and murdering us in the manner which they have. No doubt some may say that I write with a bad spirit, and that I being a black, wish these things to occur. Whether I write with a bad or a good spirit, I say if these things do not occur in their proper time, it is because the world in which we live does not exist, and we are deceived with regard to its existence. It is immaterial however to me, who believe or who refuse—though I should like to

see the whites repent peradvanture God may have mercy on them, some however, have gone so far that their cup must be filled.

But what need have I to refer to antiquity, when Hayti, the glory of the blacks and terror of tyrants, is enough to convince the most avaricious and stupid of wretches—which is at this time, and I am sorry to say it, plagued with that scourge of nations, the Catholic Religion; but I hope, and pray God that she may yet rid herself of it, and adopt in its stead the Protestant faith; also, I hope that she may keep peace within her borders and be united—keeping a strict look out for tyrants, for if they get the least chance to injure them, they will avail themselves of it, as true as the Lord lives in heaven. But one thing which gives me joy is, that they are men who would be cut off to a man, before they would yield to the combined forces of the world—in fact, if the whole world was combined against them, it could not do any thing with them unless the Lord delivers them up.

Ignorance and Treachery one against an other—a servile and abject submission to the lash of tyrants, we see plainly, my brethern, are not the natural elements of the blacks, as the Americans try to make us believe—But these are misfortunes which God has suffered our fathers to be enveloped in for many ages, no doubt in consequence of their disobedience to their Maker, and which do, indeed, reign at this time among us, almost to the destruction of all other principles.—For I must truly say, that ignorance the mother of treachery and deceit gnaws into our very vitals. Ignorance, as it now exists among us, produces a state of things, Oh my God! too horrible to present to the world. Any man who is curious to see the full force of ignorance developed among the coloured people of the U. S. of America has only to go into the Southern and Western States of this confederacy, where if he is not a tyrant, but has the feelings of a human being who can

feel for a fellow creature, he may see enough to make his very heart bleed—He may see there, a son take his mother, who bore almost the pains of death to give him birth, and by the command of a tyrant, strip her as naked as she came into the world and apply the cow-hide to her until she falls a victim to death in the road—he may see a husband take his dear wife, not unfrequently in a pregnant state and perhaps far advanced, and beat her for an unmerciful wretch, until his infant falls a lifeless lump at her feet. Can the Americans escape God Almighty? If they do, can he be to us a God of justice? God is just, and I know it—for he has convinced me to my satisfaction—I cannot doubt him. My observer may see fathers beating their sons, mothers their daughters and children their parents, all to pacify the passions of unrelenting tyrants—He may also, see them telling news and lies, making mischief one upon another. These are some of the productions of ignorance which he will see practised among my dear brethren who are held in unjust slavery and wretchedness by avaricious and unfeeling tyrants, to whom, and their hellish deeds, I would suffer my life to be taken before I would submit. And when my curious observer comes to take notice of those who are said to be free, (which assertion I deny) and who are making some frivolous pretensions to common sense, he will see that branch of ignorance among the slaves assuming a more cunning and deceitful course of procedure.—He may see some of my brethren in league with tyrants, selling their own brethren into hell upon earth, not dissimilar to the exhibitions in Africa, but in a more secret, servile and abject manner. Oh Heaven! I am full!!! I cannot hardly move my pen!!!!! As I expect some will try to put me to death, to strike terror into others and to obliterate from their minds the notion of freedom, so as to keep my brethren the more secure in wretchedness, where they will be permitted to stay but a short time (whether tyrants believe

it or not)—I shall give the world a development of facts, which are already witnessed in the courts of heaven. My observer may see some of those ignorant and treacherous creatures (coloured people) sneaking about in the large Cities, endeavouring to find out all strange coloured people—where they work and where they reside, asking them questions and trying to ascertain whether they are runaways or not, telling them at the same time that they always have been, are, and always will be friends to their brethren and perhaps that they themselves, are absconders, and a thousand such treacherous lies to get the better information of the more ignornorant!!!! There have been, and are this day in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, coloured men, who are in league with tyrants and who receive a great portion of their daily bread, of the moneys which they acquire from the blood and tears of their more miserable brethren, whom they scandalously delivered into the hands of our natural enemies.!!!!!!

To show the force of degraded ignorance and deceit among us some farther, I will here give an extract from a paragraph which may be found in the Columbian Centinel of this City, for September 9, 1829, on the first page of which, the curious may find an article headed

"AFFRAY AND MURDER."

"*Portsmouth, (Ohio,) Aug.* 22.

"A most shocking outrage was committed in "Kentucky, about eight miles from this place, on "the 14th inst. A negro driver by the name of "Gordon, who had purchased in Maryland about "sixty negroes, was taking them, assisted by an as-"sociate named Allen, and the wagonner who con-"veyed the baggage, to the Mississippi. The men "were hand-cuffed and chained together in the usual "manner for driving those poor wretches, while the "women and children were suffered to proceed with-"out incumbrance. It appears, that by means of a

"file the negroes, unobserved, had succeeded in "separating the irons which bound their hands, in "such a way as to be able to throw them off at any "moment. About 8 o'clock in the morning, while "proceeding on the State road leading from Green- "up to Vanceburg, two of them dropped their shack- "les and commenced a fight, when the wagonner "(Petit) rushed in with his whip to compel them to "desist. At this moment every negro was found "to be perfectly at liberty; and one of them seizing "a club, gave Petit a violent blow on the head and "laid him dead at his feet; and Allen who came "to his assistance, met a similar fate, from the con- "tents of a pistol fired by another of the gang.— "Gordon was then attacked, seized and held "by one of the negroes, whilst another fired twice "at him with a pistol, the ball of which, each time "grazed his head, but not proving effectual, he was "beated with clubs and left for dead. They then "commenced pillaging the wagon, and with an "axe split open the trunk of Gordon, and rifled it "of the money, about $2,400. Sixteen of the ne- "groes then took to the woods; Gordon in the "mean time, not being materially injured, was en- "abled by the assistance of one of the women to "mount his horse and flee; pursued however by "one of the gang on another horse, with a drawn "pistol; fortunately he escaped with his life barely, "arriving at a plantation as the negro came in sight; "who then turned about and retreated.

"The neighbourhood was immediately rallied, "and a hot pursuit given—which we understand has "resulted in the capture of the whole gang and "the recovery of the greatest part of the money.— "Seven of the negro men and one woman, it is "said were engaged in the murders, and will be "brought to trial at the next court in Greensupsburg.

Here my brethren, I want you to notice particularly in the above article, the ignorant and deceitful actions of this coloured woman. I beg you to view

it candidly as for eternity !!!! Here a notorious wretch, with two other confederates had *sixty* of them in a gang, driving them like brutes—the men all in chains and hand-cuffs, and by the help of God they got their chains and hand-cuffs thrown off and caught two of the wretches and put them to death, and beat the other until they thought he was dead, and left him for dead, however the wretch deceived them, and rising from the ground this servile woman helped him upon his horse, and he made his escape. Brethren, what do you think of this? Was it the natural fine feelings of this woman, to save such a wretch alive? I know that the blacks, take them half enlightened and ignorant, are more humane and merciful than the most enlightened and refined European that can be found in all the earth. Let no one say that I assert this because I am prejudiced on the side of my colour and against the whites or Europeans. For what I write, I do it candidly, for my God and the good of both parties: Natural observations have taught me these things; there is a solemn awe in the hearts of the blacks, as it respects murdering men.—Whereas the whites, (though they are great cowards) where they have the advantage, or think that there are any prospects of getting it, they murder all before them, in order to subject men to wretchedness and degradation under them. This is the natural result of pride and avarice. But I declare, the actions of this black woman is really insupportable. For my own part, I cannot think it was any thing but servile deceit, combined with the most gross ignorance: For we must remember, that humanity, kindness and the fear of the Lord, does not consist in protecting Devils.—Here is a set of wretches, who had sixty of them in a gang, driving them around the country like brutes, to dig up gold and silver for them. (which they will get enough of yet.) Should the lives of such creatures be spared? Is God and mammon in league? What has the Lord to do with a gang of

desperate wretches, who go sneaking about the country like robbers—light upon his people wherever they can get a chance, binding them with chains and hand-cuffs, beat and murder them as they would Rattle-Snakes? Are they not the Lord's enemies? Ought they not to be destroyed? Any person who will save such wretches from destruction is fighting against the Lord, and will receive his just recompense. The black men acted like block-heads.—Why did they not make sure of the wretch? He would have made sure of them if he could—It is just the way with black men—eight white men can frighten fifty of them; whereas, if you can only get courage into the blacks, I do declare it, that one good black man, can put to death six white men, and I give it as a fact, let twelve black men get well armed for battle and they will kill and put to flight fifty whites. The reason is, the blacks, once you get them started they glory in death. The whites have had us under them for more than three centuries, murdering, and treating us like brutes, and as Mr. Jefferson wisely said, they have never found us out—they do not know indeed, that there is an unconquerable disposition in the breasts of the blacks, which, when it is fully awakened and put in motion, will be subdued, only with the destruction of the animal existence—get the blacks started, and if you do not have a gang of Tigers and Lions to deal with, I am a deceiver of the blacks and of the whites. How sixty of them could let that wretch escape unkilled, I cannot conceive—they will have to suffer as much for the two whom they secured, as if they had put one hundred to death—if you commence, make sure work—do not trifle, for they will not trifle with you—they want us for their slaves and think nothing of murdering us in order to subject us to that wretched condition—therefore if there is an attempt made by us, kill or be killed. Now I ask you, had you not rather be killed than to be a slave to a tyrant, who takes the life of your mother, wife,

and dear little children? Look upon your wife and children and answer God Almighty; and believe this, that it is no more harm for you to kill a man, who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty; in fact, the man who will stand still and let another murder him, is worse than an infidel, and if he has common sense ought not to be pitied. The actions of this deceitful and ignorant coloured woman, in saving the life of a desperate man, whose avaricious and cruel object was, to drive her and her companions in miseries, through the country like cattle, to make his fortune on their carcasses, are but too much like that of thousands of our brethren in these States: if any thing is whispered by one, which has any allusion to the amelioration of their dreadful condition, they run and tell tyrants, that they may be enabled to keep them the longer in wretchedness and miseries. Oh! coloured people of these United States, I ask you in the name of that God who made us, have we in consequence of oppression, nearly lost the spirit of man, and in no very trifling degree, adopted that of brutes? Do you answer, No?—I ask you then, what set of men can you point me to, in all the world, who are so abjectly employed by their oppressors as we are by our natural enemies? How can, Oh! how can those enemies but say that we and our children are not of the human family, but were made by our Creator to be an inheritance to them and theirs forever? How can the slave-holders but say that they can bribe the best coloured person in the country, to sell his brethren for a trifling sum of money, and take that atrocity to confirm them in their avaricious opinion, that we were made to be slaves to them and their children? How could Mr Jefferson but say, *"I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that "the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or

*See his notes on Virginia, page 213.

"made distinct by time and circumstances, are infe-
"rior to the whites in the endowments both of body
"and mind?" "It" says he, "is not against ex-
"perience to suppose, that different species of the
"same genus, or varieties of the same species, may
"possess different qualifications." (Here, my breth-
ren, listen to him.) ☞"Will not a lover of natural
"history then, one who views the gradations in all
"the races of animals with the eye of philosophy,
"excuse an effort to keep those in the department
"of man as distinct as nature has formed them?"
I hope you all will try to find out the meaning of this verse—its widest sense and all its bearings: whether you do or not, remember the whites do. This very verse, brethren, having eminated from Mr. Jefferson, a much greater philosopher, the world never afforded, has, in truth injured us more, and has been as great a barrier to our emancipation as any thing that has ever been advanced against us—I hope you will not let it pass unnoticed. He goes on farther and says: "This unfortunate difference
"of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful
"obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Ma-
"ny of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate
"the liberty of human nature are anxious also to
"preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these,
"embarrassed by the question, 'What further is to
"be done with them?' Join themselves in opposi-
"tion with those who are actuated by sordid avarice
"only." Now I ask you candidly, my suffering brethren in time, who are candidates for the eternal worlds, how could Mr. Jefferson but have given the world these remarks respecting us, when we are so submissive to them, and so much servile deceit prevails among ourselves—when we so meanly submit to their murderous lashes, to which neither the Indians, nor any other people under heaven would submit? No they would die to a man, before they would suffer such things, from men who are no better than themselves and perhaps not so good. Yes,

how can our friends but be embarrassed, as Mr. Jefferson says, by the question, "What further is to be done with these people?" for while they are working for our emancipation, we are, by our treachery, wickedness and deceit, working against ourselves and our children—helping ours, and the enemies of God, to keep us and our dear little children, in their infernal chains of slavery ! ! ! Indeed, our friends cannot but relapse, and join themselves "with those who are actuated by *sordid avarice* only !!!!" For my own part, I am glad Mr. Jefferson has advanced his positions for your sake; for you will either have to contradict or confim him by your own actions, and not by what our friends have said or done for us; for those things are other men's labors, and do not satisfy the Americans, who are waiting for us to prove to them ourselves, that we are men, before they will be willing to admit the fact; for I pledge you my sacred word of honor, that Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us have sunk deep into the hearts of millions of the whites and never will be removed this side of eternity.—For how can they when we are confirming him every day, by our groveling submissions and treachery? I aver, that when I look over these United States and see the ignorant deceptions and consequent wretchedness of my brethren, I am brought oft-times solemnly to a stand, and in the midst of my reflections, I exclaim to my God, 'Lord didst thou make us to be slaves to our brethren, the whites?' But when I reflect that God is just, and that millions of my wretched brethren would meet death with glory—yea, more—would plunge into the very mouths of cannons and be torn into particles as minute as the atoms which compose the elements of the earth, in preference to a mean submission to the lash of tyrants, I am with streaming eyes, compelled to shrink back into nothingness before my Maker, and exclaim again, thy will be done, O ! Lord God Almighty.

Men of colour who are also of sense, for you particularly is my appeal designed—our more ignorant brethren are not able to penetrate its value:—I call upon you therefore to cast your eyes upon the wretchedness of your brethren and to do your utmost to enlighten them—go to work and enlighten your brethren—let the Lord see you doing what you can to rescue them and yourselves from degradation. Do any of you say that you and your family are free and happy, and what have you to do with the wretched slaves and other people? So can I say for I enjoy as much freedom as any of you, if I am not quite as well off as the best of you. Look into our freedom and happiness and see of what kind they are composed!! They are of the very lowest kind—they are the very dregs!—they are the most servile and abject kind, that ever a people was in possession of!!! If you want to know how free you are, let one of you start and go through the Southern and Western States, of this country, and unless you travel as a slave to a white man (a servant is a slave to the man whom he serves) or have your free papers, (which if you are not careful they will get from you) if they do not take you up and put you in jail and if you cannot give good evidence of your freedom sell you into eternal slavery, I am not a living man: or any man of colour, immaterial who he is, or where he came from, the Christian of America will serve him the same—they will sink him into wretchedness and degradation forever while he lives. And yet some of you have the hardihood to say that you are free and happy. May God have mercy on your freedom and happiness. I met a coloured man in the street a short time since, with a string of boots on his shoulders; we fell into conversation, and in course of which, I said to him, what a miserable set of people we are! He asked, why?—Said I, we are so subjected under the whites, that we cannot obtain the comforts of life, but by cleaning their boots and shoes, old clothes, waiting on

them, shaving them, &c. Said he, (with the boots on his shoulders) "I am completely happy ! ! ! I "never want to live any better or happier than when "I can get a plenty of boots and shoes to clean !!" Oh ! how can those who are actuated by avarice only, but think, that our creator made us to be an inheritance to them forever, when they see that our greatest glory is centered in such mean and low objects? Understand me, brethren, I do not mean to speak against the ocupations by which we acquire enough, and sometimes scarcely that, to render ourselves and families comfortable through life. I am subjected to the same inconvenience, as you all. My objections are, to our glorying and being happy in such low employments; for if we are men, we ought to be thankful to the Lord for the past and for the future. Be looking forward with thankful hearts to higher attainments than weilding the razor and cleaning boots and shoes. The man whose aspirations, are not above, and even below these, is, indeed, ignorant and wretched enough. I advance it therefore to you, not as a problematical, but as an unshaken, and forever immoveable fact, that your full glory and happiness, as well all other coloured people under heaven, shall never be fully consummated, but with the entire emancipation of your enslaved brethren all over the world. You may therefore, go to work and do what you can to rescue, or join in with tyrants to oppress them and yourselves, until the Lord shall come upon you all like a thief in the night. For I believe it is the will of the Lord, that our greatest happiness shall consist in working for the salvation of our whole body. When this is accomplished a burst of glory will shine upon you, which will indeed astonish you and the world. Do any of you say this never will be done?—I assure you that God will accomplish it—If nothing else will answer, he will hurl tyrants and devils into atoms and make way for his people. But Oh ! my brethren, I say unto you again, you must go to work and prepare the way of the Lord.

There is a great work for you to do, as trifling as some of you may think of it. You have to prove to the Americans and the world, that we are men and not brutes, as we have been represented, and by millions treated. Remember, to let the aim of your labours among your brethren, and particularly the youths be, the dissemination of education and religion. It is lamentable, that many of our children go to school, from four until they are eight or ten and sometimes fifteen years of age, and leave school knowing but a little more about the Grammar of their language than a horse does about handling a musket—and not a few of them, are realy so ignorant, that they are unable to answer a person correctly, general questions in Geography, and to hear them read, would only be to disgust a man, who has a taste for reading. Which to do well, as trifling as it may appear to some, (to the ignorant in particular) is a great part of learning. Some few of them, may make out to scribble tolerably well, over a half sheet of paper, which I believe has hitherto been a powerful obstacle, in our way, to keep us from acquiring knowledge. An ignorant father who knows no more than what nature has taught him, together with what little he acquires by the senses of hearing and seeing. Seeing his son able to write a neat hand, sets it down for granted that he has as good learning as any body; the young ignorant gump hearing his father or mother who perhaps may be ten times more ignorant, in point of literature than himself, extoling his learning, struts about in the full assurance, that his attainments in literature are sufficient to take him through the world, when in fact, he has scarcely any learning at all!!

I promiscuously fell in conversation once, with an elderly coloured man on the topics of education, and of the great prevalency of ignorance among us: Said he, "I know that our people are very ignorant, "but my son has a good education: I spent a great "deal of money on his education: he can write as

"well as any white man and I assure you, that no one "can fool him," &c. Said I, what else can your son do besides writing a good hand? Can he post a set of books in a mercantile manner? Can he write a neat piece of composition in prose or in verse? To all of which he answered in the negative. Said I, did your son learn, while he was at school, the widt hand depth of English Grammar? to which he also replied in the negative, telling me his son did learn those things. Your son said I, then has not hardly any learning at all—he is almost as ignorant, and more so than many of those who never went to school one day in all their lives. My friend got a little put out, and so walking off said, that his son could write as well as any white man.—Most of the coloured people, when they speak of the education of one among us who can write a neat hand, and who perhaps knows nothing but to scribble and puff pretty fair on a small scrap of paper, immaterial whether his words are grammatical, or spelt correctly or not; if it only looks beautiful, they say he has as good an education as any white man—he can write as well as any white man, &c. The poor ignorant creature hearing this, he is ashamed forever after, to let any person see him humbling himself to another for learning, but going about trying to deceive those who are more ignorant than himself, he at last falls an ignorant victim to death in wretchedness. I pray that the Lord may undeceive my ignorant brethren, and permit them to throw away pretensions and seek after the substance of learning. I would crawl on my hands and knees through mud and mire to the feet of a learned man, where I would sit and humbly supplicate him to instil into me, that which neither Devils nor tyrants could remove only with my life—for the Africans to acquire learning in this country makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation. Why, what is the matter? Why, they know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be made known to the world. Do you suppose one man of

good sense and learning would submit, himself, his father, mother, wife and children to be slaves to a wretched man like himself, who instead of compensating him for his labours, chains, hand-cuffs and beats him and family almost to death, leaving life enough in them however, to work for, and call him master? No! no ! he would cut his devlish throat from ear to ear, and well do slave-holders know it. The bare name of educating the coloured people scares slaveholders almost to death. But if they do not have enough to be frightened for, yet, it will be, because they can always keep us ignorant, and because God approbates their cruelties with which they have been for centuries murdering us. The whites shall have enough of the blacks, yet, as true as God sits on his throne in heaven.

Some of our brethren are so very full of learning that you cannot mention any thing to them which they do not know better than yourself!!—nothing is strange to them!!—they knew every thing years ago!—if any thing should be mentioned in company where they are, immaterial how important it is respecting us or the world, if they had not divulged it; they make light of it, and affect to have known it long before it was mentioned and try to make all in the room or wherever you may be, believe that your conversation is nothing!!—not worth hearing! All this is the result of ignorance and ill-breeding; for a man of good breeding, sense and penetration, if he had heard a subject told twenty times over and should happen to be in company where one should commence telling it again, he would wait with patience on its narrator and see if he would tell it as it was told in his presence before—paying the most strict attention to what is said, to see if any more light will be thrown on the subject:—for all men are not gifted alike in telling, or even hearing the most simple narration. These ignorant, vicious, and wretched men, contribute almost as much injury to our body as tyrants themselves, by doing so

much for the promotion of ignorance among us;—for they, making such pretensions to knowledge, such of our youth, as are seeking after knowledge, and can get access to them, take them as criterions to go by, who will lead them into a channel, where, unless the Lord blesses them with the privilege of seeing their folly, they will be irretrievably lost forever while in time !!!

I must close this article by relating the very heart-rending fact, that I have examined school-boys and young men of colour in different parts of the country, in the most simple parts of Murray's English Grammar, and not more than one in thirty was able to give a correct answer to my interrogations. If any one contradicts me, let him step out of his door into the streets of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia or Baltimore, (no use to mention any other, for the christians are too charitable further South or West !!!) I say, let him who disputes me, step out of his door into the streets of either of those four cities, and promiscuously collect one hundred school-boys or young men of colour who have been to school, and who are considered by the coloured people, to have received an excellent education, because perhaps, some of them can write a good hand, but who, notwithstanding their neat writing, may be almost as ignorant in comparison, as horses.—And I say it, he will hardly find (in this enlightened day, and in the midst of this *charitable* people) ten in one hundred who are able to correct the false grammar of their language.—The cause of this almost universal ignorance among us, I appeal to our school-masters to declare. Here is a fact which I this very minute, take from the mouth of a young coloured man, who has been to school in this State (Massachusetts) nearly nine years, and who knows grammar this day, *nearly* as well as he did the day he first entered the school-house, under a white master. This young man says:—"my mas-"ter would never allow me to study grammar."—

I asked him, why? "The school committee" said he, "forbid the coloured children learning grammar— "they would not allow any but the white children "to study grammar." It is a notorious fact, that the major part of the white Americans, have, ever since we have been among them, tried to keep us ignorant, and make us believe that God made us and our children to be slaves to them and theirs.— *Oh! my God have mercy on Christian Americans!!!!!!*

ARTICLE 3.

OUR WRETCHEDNESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE PREACHERS OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST.

Religion, my brethren, is a substance, of deep consideration among all nations of the earth. The Pagans have a kind, as well as the Mahometans, the Jews, and the Christians. But pure and undefiled religion, such as was preached by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, is hard to be found in all the earth. God through his instrument, Moses, handed a dispensation of his divine will, to the children of Israel after they had left Egypt for the Land of Canaan, or of Promise, who through hypocrisy, oppression and unbelief, departed from the faith.—He then, by his Apostles, handed a dispensation of his, together with the will of Jesus Christ, to the Europeans in Europe, who in open violation of which, have made merchandise of us, and it does appear as though they take this very dispensation to aid them in their infernal depredations on us. Indeed, the way in which religion was and is conducted by the Europeans and their descendants, one might believe it was a plan fabricated by themselves and the Devils, to oppress us. But hark! my master has taught me better than to believe it—He has taught me that his Gospel as it was preached by himself and his Apostles remains the same, notwithstanding Europe has tried to mingle blood and oppression with it.

It is well known to the Christian world, that Bar-

tholomew Las Casas, that very notoriously avaricious Catholic priest or preacher, and adventurer with Columbus in his second voyage, proposed to his countrymen, the Spaniards in Hispaniola to import theAfricans from the Portuguese settlement in Africa, to dig up gold and silver, and work their plantations for them, to effect which, he made a voyage thence to Spain, and opened the subject to his master, Ferdinand, then in declining health, who listened to the plan: but who died soon after, and left it in the hands of his successor, Charles V.* This man, ("Las Casas, the Preacher,") succeeded so well in his plans of oppression, that in 1503, the first blacks had been imported into the new world. Elated with this success, and stimulated by sordid avarice only, he importuned Charles V. in 1511, to grant permission to a Flemish merchant, to import 4000 blacks at one time. Thus we see, through the instrumentality of a pretended preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ our common master, our wretchedness first commenced in America, where it has been continued from 1503, to this day, 1829. A period of three hundred and twenty six years. But two hundred and nine, from 1620—when twenty of our fathers were brought into Jamestown, Virginia, by a Dutch man of war, and sold off like brutes to the highest bidders; and there is not a doubt in my mind, but that tyrants are in hopes to perpetuate our miseries under them and their children until the final consummation of all things.—But if they do not get dreadfully deceived, it will be because God has forgotten them.

The Pagans, Jews and Mahometans try to make proselytes to their religions, and whatever human beings adopt their religions they extend to them their protection. But Christian Americans, not only hinder their fellow creatures, the Africans,

* See Butler's History of the United States, vol. 1. page 24.—See also,page 25.

but thousands of them will absolutely beat a coloured person nearly to death, if they catch him on his knees, supplicating the throne of grace. This barbarous cruelty was by all the heathen nations of antiquity, and is by the Pagans, Jews and Mahometans of the present day, left entirely to Christian Americans to inflict on the Africans and their descendants, that their cup which is nearly full may be completed. I have known tyrants or usurpers of human liberty in different parts of the South, to take their fellow creatures, the coloured people, and beat them until they would scarcely leave life in them; what for? Why, they say, "the black "Devils had the audacity to be found making pray-"er and supplication to the God who made them!!!!" Yes, I have known small collections of coloured people to have convened together, for no other purpose than to worship God Almighty, in spirit and in truth, to the best of their knowledge; when tyrants calling themselves patrols, would also convene and wait almost in breathless silence, for the poor coloured people to commence singing and praying to the Lord our God, and as soon as they had commenced the wretches would burst in upon them and drag them out and commence beating them as they would rattle-snakes—many of whom, they would beat so unmercifully that theywould hardly be able to crawl for weeks and sometimes for months —Yet the American ministers send out missionaries to convert the heathen, while they keep us and our children sunk at their feet in the most abject ignorance and wretchedness that ever a people was afflicted with since the world began. Will the Lord suffer this people to proceed much longer? Will he not stop them in their career? Does he regard the heathens abroad, more than the heathens among the Americans? Surely the Americans must believe that God is partial, notwithstanding his Apostle Peter, declared before Cornelius and others that he had no respect to persons, but in every nation he that fears

eth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him—"The word" said he, "which God sent unto "the children of Israel, preaching peace, by Jesus "Christ (he is Lord of all.)"* Have not the Americans the Bible in their hands? Do they believe it? Surely they do not. See how they treat us in open violation of the Bible!! They no doubt will be greatly offended with me, but if God does not awaken them, it will be, because they are superior to other men, as they have represented themselves to be. Our divine Lord and Master said, "all things "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, "do ye even so unto them." But an American minister, with the Bible in his hand, holds us and our children in the most abject slavery and wretchedness. Now I ask them, would they like for us to hold them and their children in abject slavery and wretchedness? No says one, that never can be done—you are too abject and ignorant to do it—you are not men—you were made to be slaves to us, to dig up gold and silver for us and our children.—Know this, my dear sir, that although you treat us and our children now, as you do your domestic beasts—yet the final result of all future events are known but to God Almighty alone, who rules in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, and who dethrones one earthly king and sits up another, as it seemeth good in his holy sight. We may attribute these vicissitudes to what we please, but the God of armies and of justice rules in heaven and in earth, and the whole American people shall see and know it yet, to their satisfaction. I have known pretended preachers of the gospel of my Master, who not only held us as their natural inheritance, but treated us with as much rigor as any infidel or Deist in the world—just as though they were intent only on taking our blood and groans to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ. The wicked and

*See Acts of the Apostles, chap. x. v. 25—26.

ungodly seeing their preachers treat us with so much cruelty, they say: our preachers, who must be right, if any body are, treat them like brutes, and why cannot we?—They think it is no harm to keep them in slavery and put the whip to them, and why cannot we do the same?—They being preachers of the gospel of Jesus Christ, if it were any harm, they would surely preach against their oppression and do their utmost to erase it from the country—not only in one or two cities, but one continual cry would be raised in all parts of this confederacy, and would cease only with the complete overthrow of the system of slavery, in every part of the country. But how far the American preachers are from preaching against slavery and oppression, which have carried their country to the brink of a precipice; to save them from plunging down the side of which, will hardly be effected, will appear in the sequel of this paragraph, which I shall narrate just as it transpired. I remember a Camp-Meeting in South Carolina, for which I embarked in a steam-boat at Charleston, and having been five or six hours on the water, we at last arrived at the place of hearing, where was a very great concourse of people, who were no doubt, collected together to hear the word of God, (that some had collected barely as spectators to the scene, I will not here pretend to doubt, however, that is left to themselves and their God.) Myself and boat companions, having been there a little while, we were all called up to hear; I among the rest, went up and took my seat—being seated, I fixed myself in a complete position to hear the word of my Saviour and to receive such as I thought was authenticated by the Holy Scriptures; but to my no ordinary astonishment, our Reverend Gentleman got up and told us (coloured people) that slaves must be obedient to their masters—must do their duty to their masters or be whipped—the whip was made for the backs of fools, &c.—Here I pause for a moment, to give the world time to consider what was my surprise, to

hear such preaching from a minister of my Master, whose very Gospel is that of peace and not of blood & whips as this pretended preacher tried to make us believe. What the American preachers can think of us, I aver this day before my God, I have never been able to define.—They have newspapers and monthly periodicals which they receive in continual succession, but on the pages of which, you will scarcely ever find a paragraph respecting slavery, which is ten thousand times more injurious to this country than all the other evils put together; and which will be the final overthrow of its government, unless something is very speedily done; for their cup is nearly full.---Perhaps they will laugh at, or make light of this; but I tell you, Americans! that unless you speedily alter your course, *you* and your *Country are gone!!!!!!* For God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth!!!!!! Will not that very remarkable passage of scripture be fulfilled on Christian Americans? Hear it Americans!! *"He that is unjust, let him be unjust still:— "and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he "that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and "he that is holy, let him be holy still." I hope that the Americans may hear, but I am afraid that they have done us so much injury, and are so firm in the belief that our Creator made us to be an inheritance to them forever, that their hearts will be hardened, so that their destruction may be sure.— This language, perhaps is too harsh for the Americans' delicate ears. But Oh Americans! Americans!! I warn you in the name of the Lord, (whether you will hear, or forbear,) to repent and reform, or you are ruined!!!!!! Do you think that our blood is hidden from the Lord, because you can hide it from the rest of the world, by sending out missionaries and by your charitable deeds to the Greeks, Irish, &c.? Will he not publish your secret crimes on the house top? Even here in Boston, pride and prejudice have got to such a pitch, that in the very

*See Revelation, chap. xxii. v. 11.

houses erected to the Lord, they have built little places for the reception of coloured people, where they must sit during meeting, or keep away from the house of God; and the preachers say nothing about it—much less, go into the hedges and highways seeking the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and try to bring them in, to their Lord and Master. There are hardly a more wretched, ignorant, miserable, and abject set of beings in all the world, than the blacks in the Southern and Western sections of this country, under tyrants and Devils—The preachers of America cannot see them, but they can send out missionaries to convert the heathen, notwithstanding. Americans! unless you speedily alter your course of proceeding, if God Almighty does not stop you, I say it in his name, that you may go on and do as you please for ever, both in time and in eternity—never fear any evil at all!!!!!!!!

How can the preachers and people of America believe the Bible? Does it teach them any distinction on account of a man's colour? Hearken, Americans! to the injunctions of our Lord and Master, to his humble followers.

*"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, "all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.

"Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, bapti-"zing them in the name of the Father, and of the "Son, and of the Holy Ghost;

"Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever "I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you al-"way, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

I declare, that the very face of these injunctions appear to be of God and not of man. They do not show the slighest degree of distinction. "Go ye "therefore," (says my divine Master,) "and teach "all nations," (or in other words, all people,) "bap-"tizing them in the name of the Father, and of the "Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Do you understand

*See St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. xxviii. v. 18—19—20.—After Jesus was risen from the dead.

the above, Americans ? We are a people, notwithstanding many of you doubt it. You have the Bible in your hands with this very injuction. Have you been to Africa teaching the inhabitants thereof, the words of the Lord Jesus ? "Baptizing them in "the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the "Holy Ghost." Have you not on the contrary, entered among us, and learnt us the art of throat cutting, by setting us to fight, one against an other, to take each other as prisoners of war, and sell to you for small bits of Calicoes, old Swords, Knives, &c. to make slaves for you and your children ? This being done, have you not brought us among you, in chains and hand-cuffs, like brutes, and treated us with all the cruelties and rigour your ingenuity could invent, consistent with the laws of your country, which, (for the blacks is tyranical enough ?) Can the American Preachers, appeal unto God, the Maker and Searcher of hearts, and tell him with the Bible in their hands, that they make no distinction on account of men's colour ? Can they say, Oh ! God, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that we make no distinction between thy creatures, to whom we have to preach thy Word ? Let them answer the Lord. And if they cannot do it in the affirmative, have they not departed from the Lord Jesus Christ, their master ? But some may say, that they never had, or were in possession of a religion, which made no distinction, and of course they could not have departed from it. I ask you then, in the name of the Lord, of what kind can your religion be? Can it be that which was preached by our Lord Jesus Christ from Heaven? I believe you cannot be so wicked as to tell him, that his Gospel was that of distinction. What can the American preachers and people take God to be? Do they believe his words?— If they do, do they believe that he will be mocked? Or do they believe, because they are whites and we blacks, that God will have respect to them? Did not God make us all as it seemed best to himself?

What right then have one of us, to despise another and to treat him cruel on account of his colour, which none but the God who made it, can alter?—Can there be a greater absurdity in nature, and particularly in a free republican country? But the Americans having introduced slavery among them, their hearts have become almost seared as with an hot iron, and God has nearly given them up to believe a lie in preference to the truth!!!! and I am awfully afraid that pride, prejudice, avarice and blood will before long, prove the final ruin of this happy republic, or land of *liberty!!!!!* Can any thing be a greater mockery of religion than the way in which it is conducted by the Americans? It appears as though they are bent only on daring God Almighty to do his best—they chain and hand-cuff us and our children and drive us around the country like brutes, and go into the house of the God of justice to return him thanks for having aided them in their infernal cruelties inflicted upon us. Will the Lord suffer this people to go on much longer, taking his holy name in vain? Will he not stop them, preachers and all? O! Americans! Americans!! I call God—I call angels—I call men, to witness, that your destruction is at hand, and will be speedily consummated, unless you repent.

ARTICLE 4.

OUR WRETCHEDNESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE COLONIZING PLAN.

My dearly beloved brethren:—This is a scheme, on which so many able writers, together with that very judicious coloured Baltimorean, have commented, that I feel my delicacy about touching it.—But as I am compelled to do the will of my master, I declare, I will give you my sentiment upon it.—Previous, however, to giving my sentiment either for or against it, I shall give that of Mr. Henry

Clay, together with that of Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, Esq. of the District of Columbia, as extracted from the National Intelligencer, by Dr. Torrey, author of a series of "Essays on Morals, and the diffusion of useful Knowledge."

At a meeting which was convened in the District of Columbia, for the express purpose of agitating the subject of colonizing us in some part of the world, Mr. Clay was called to the chair, and having been seated a little while, he rose and spake, in substance, as follows: says he—*"That class of the "mixt population of our country [coloured people] "was peculiarly situated, they neither enjoyed the "immunities of freemen, nor were they subjected "to the incapacities of slaves, but partook in some "degree of the qualities of both. From their condi- "tion and the unconquerable prejudices resulting "from their colour, they never could amalgamate "with the free whites of this country. It was de- "sirable, therefore, as it respected them, and the "residue of the population of the country, to drain "them off. Various schemes of colonization had "been thought of, and a part of our continent, it "was supposed by some, might furnish a suitable "establishment for them. But for his part, Mr. C. "said, he had a decided preference for some part of "the coast of Africa. There ample provision might "be made for the colony itself, and it might be render- "ed instumental to the introduction into that exten- "sive quarter of the globe, of the arts, civilization "and Christianity." [Here I ask, Mr. Clay, what kind of christianity? Did he mean such as they have among the Americans—distinction, blood and oppression? I pray the Lord Jesus Christ to forbid it.] "There, said he, was a peculiar, a moral fitness in "restoring them to the land of their fathers, and if "instead of the evils and sufferings which we had

*See Dr. Torrey's Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States, page 85—86.

"been the innocent cause of inflicting upon the "inhabitants of Africa, we can transmit to her the "blessings of our arts, our civilization, and our "religion. May we not hope that America will ex- "tinguish a great portion of that moral debt which "she has contracted to that unfortunate continent? "Can there be a nobler cause than that which, whilst "it proposes, &c. * * * * * * * * * * [you know what this means.] "contemplates the spreading of "the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemp- "tion from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted "quarter of the globe?"

Before I proceed any further, I solicit your notice, brethren, to the foregoing part of Mr. Clay's speech, in which he says, (☞ look above) "and if, instead "of the evils and sufferings, which we had been the "innocent cause of inflicting, &c." What this very learned statesman could have been thinking about when he said in his speech, "we had been the inno- "cent cause of inflicting, &c." I have never been able to conceive. Are Mr. Clay and the rest of the Americans, innocent of the blood and groans of our fathers and us their children ? Every individual may plead innocence, if he pleases, but God will, before long, separate the innocent from the guilty, unless something is speedily done—which I suppose will hardly be, so that their destruction may be sure. Oh Americans ! let me tell you, in the name and fear of the Lord, it will be good for you, if you listen to the voice of the Holy Ghost, but if you do not, you are ruined !!!! Some of you are good men ; but the will of my God must be done. Those avaricious and ungodly tyrants among you, I am awfully afraid will drag down the vengeance of God upon you.— When God Almighty commences his battle on the continent of America, for the oppression of his peo- ple, tyrants will wish they never were born.

But to return to Mr. Clay, whence I digressed. He says, "It was proper and necessary distinctly to "state that he understood it constituted no part of the

"object of this meeting, to touch or agitate in the "slightest degree, a delicate question connected "with another portion of the coloured population of "our country. It was not proposed to deliberate upon "or consider at all, any question of emancipation, "or that was which connected with the abolition of "slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he "was sure, that many gentlemen from the South "and the West, whom he saw present, had attend-"ed, or could be expected to co-operate. It was "upon that condition only, that he had himself at-"tended." That is to say, fix a plan to get those of the coloured people, who are said to be free, away from among those of our brethren, whom they unjustly hold in bondage so that they may be enabled to keep them the more secure in ignorance and wretchedness, to support them and their children, and consequently, they would have the more obedient slaves. For if the free are allowed to stay among the slaves, they will have intercourse together, and of course, the free will learn the slaves bad habits, by teaching them, that they are men, as well as other people, and certainly ought and must be free.

I presume, that every intelligent man of colour, must have some idea of Mr. Henry Clay, now of Kentucky, they know too perhaps, whether, he is a friend, or a foe to the coloured citizens of this country, and of the world. This gentleman, according to his own words, had been highly favoured and blessed of the Lord, though he did not acknowledge it. But on the contrary, he acknowledged men, for all the blessings with which, God had favoured him. At a public dinner given him, at Fouler's Garden, Lexington, Kentucky, he delivered a public speech to a very large concourse of people—in the concluding clause of which, he says, "And now my friends and fellow "citizens, I cannot part from you, on possibly this "last occasion of my ever publicly addressing you, "without reiterating the expression of my thanks "from a heart overflowing with gratitude, I came

"among you, now more than thirty years ago, an "orphan boy, pennyless, a stranger to you all, with- "out friends, without the favour of the great, you took "me up, cherished me, caressed me, protected me, "honored me, you have constantly poured upon me "a bold and unabated stream of innumerable favors, "time which wears out every thing, has increased "and strengthened your affection for me. When I "seemed deserted by almost the whole world, and "assailed by almost every tongue, and pen, and press, "you have fearlessly and manfully stood by me, "with unsurpassed zeal and undiminished friend- "ship. When I felt as if I should sink beneath the "storm of abuse and detraction, which was violent- "ly raging around me, I have found myself upheld "and sustained by your encouraging voices and your "approving smiles. I have doubtless committed ma- "ny faults and indiscretions, over which you have "thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I "can say, and in the presence of God and of this as- "sembled multitude, I will say, that I have honestly "and faithfully served my country, that I have nev- "er wronged it, and that however unprepared, I la- "ment that I am to appear in divine presence on "other accounts, I invoke the stern justice of his "judgement on my public conduct, without the "smallest apprehension of his displeasure."

Hearken to this statesman indeed, but no philanthropist, whom God sent into Kentucky, an orphan boy, pennyless and friendless, where he not only gave him a plenty of friends and the comforts of life, but raised him almost to the very highest honor in the nation, where his great talents, with which the Lord has been pleased to bless him, has gained for him the affection of a great portion of the people with whom he had to do. But what has this gentleman done for the Lord, after having done so much for him? The Lord has a suffering people, whose moans and groans at his feet for deliverance from oppression and wretchedness, pierce the very throne of heaven,

and call loudly on the God of justice, to be revenged. Now, what this gentleman, who is so highly favoured of the Lord has done to liberate those miserable victims of oppression, shall appear before the world by his letters to Mr. Gallatin, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, dated June 19, 1826. Though Mr. Clay was writing for the States, yet nevertheless, it appears from the very face of his letters to that gentlemen, that he was as anxious, if not more so, to get those free people and sink them into wretchedness, as his constituents for whom he wrote.

The Americans of North and of South America, including the West-India Islands—no trifling portion of whom, were, for stealing, murdering, &c. compelled to flee from Europe, to save their necks or banishment, have effected their escape to this continent, where God blessed them with all the comforts of life—He gave them a plenty of every thing calculated to do them good—not satisfied with this, however, they wanted slaves, and wanted us for their slaves, who belong to the Holy Ghost and no other, who we shall have to serve instead of tyrants.—I say, the Americans want us, the property of the Holy Ghost, to serve them. But there is a day fast approaching, when (unless there is a universal repentance on the part of the whites, which will scarcely be done, they have got to be so hardened in consequence of our blood, and so wise in their own conceit) To be plain and candid with you, Americans! I say that the day is fast approaching when there will be a greater time on the continent of America than ever was witnessed upon this earth since it came from the hand of its Creator. Some of you, have done us so much, that you will never be able to repent—Your cup must be filled—You want us for your slaves and shall have enough of us—God is just, *who will give you your fill of us.* But Mr. Henry Clay, speaking to Mr. Gallatin, respecting coloured people, who had effected

their escape from the United States (or to them hell upon earth !!!) to the hospitable shores of Canada, from whence it would cause more than the lives of Americans to get them, to plunge into wretchedness—he says: "The General Assembly "of Kentucky, one of the States which is most af- "fected by the escape of slaves into Upper Canada, "has again, at their session which has just termina- "ted, invoked the interposition of the General Gov- "ernment. In the treaty which has been recently "concluded with the United Mexican States, and "which is now under the consideration of the Sen- "ate, provision is made for the restoration of fugi- "tive slaves. As it appears from your statements "of what passed on that subject, with the British "Plenipotentiaries, that they admitted the correct- "ness of the principle of restoration; it is hoped "that you will be able to succeed in making satis- "factory arrangements."

There are a series of these letters, all of which, are to the same amount; some however, presenting a face more of his own responsibility. I wonder what would this gentleman think, if the Lord should give him among the rest of his blessings enough of slaves? Could he blame any other being but himself? Do we not belong to the Holy Ghost? What business has he or any body else, to be sending letters about the world respecting us? Can we not go where we want to, as well as other people, only if we obey the voice of the Holy Ghost? This gentleman (Mr. Henry Clay) not only took an active part in this colonizing plan, but was absolutely chairman of a meeting held at Washington, the 21st day of December, 1826, to agitate the subject of colonizing us in Africa. Now I appeal and ask every citizen of these United States, and of the world, both white and black, who has any knowledge of Mr. Clay's public labours for these States—I want you candidly to answer the Lord, who sees the secrets of your hearts—Do you believe that Mr. Henry Clay, late

Secretary of State, and now in Kentucky, is a friend to the blacks further than his personal interest extends? Is it not his greatest object and glory upon earth, to sink us into miseries and wretchedness by making slaves of us, to work his plantation to enrich him and his family? Does he care a pinch of snuff about Africa—whether it remains a land of Pagans and of blood, or of Christians, so long as he gets enough of her sons and daughters to dig up gold and silver for him? If he had no slaves, and could obtain them in no other way, if it were not repugnant to the laws of his country, which prohibit the importation of slaves (which act was, indeed, more through apprehension than humanity) would he not try to import a few from Africa, to work his farm? Would he work in the hot sun to earn his bread, if he could make an African work for nothing, particularly, if he could keep him in ignorance and make him believe that God made him for nothing else but to work for him? Is not Mr. Clay a white man, and too delicate to work in the hot sun? Was he not made by his Creator to sit in the shade, and make the blacks work without remuneration for their services, to support him and his family? I have been for sometime taking notice of this man's speeches and public writings, but never to my knowledge have I seen any thing in his writings which insisted on the emancipation of slavery, which has almost ruined his country. Thus we see the depravity of men's hearts, when in pursuit only of gain—particularly when they oppress their fellow creatures to obtain that gain—God suffers some to go on until they are lost forever. This same Mr. Clay, wants to know, what he has done, to merit the disapprobation of the American people. In a public speech delivered by him, he asked: "Did I involve my "country in an unnecessary war?" to merit the censure of the Americans—"did I bring obliquy upon "the nation, or the people whom I represented?—"did I ever lose any opportunity to advance the

"fame, honor and prosperity of this State and of the "Union?"—How astonishing it is, for a man who knows so much about God and his ways, as Mr. Clay, to ask such frivolous questions? Does he believe that a man of his talents and standing in the midst of a people, will get along unnoticed by the penetrating and all seeing eye of God, who is continually taking cognizance of the hearts of men?—Is not God against him, for advocating the murderous cause of slavery? If God is against him, what can the Americans, together with the whole world do for him? Can they save him from the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ?

I shall now pass in review the speech of Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, Esq. of the District of Columbia, extracted from the same page on which Mr. Clay's will be found. Mr. Caldwell, giving his opinion respecting us, at that ever memorable meeting, he says: "The more you improve the condition of these peo- "ple, the more you cultivate their minds, the more "miserable you make them in their present state. "You give them a higher relish for those privileges "which they can never attain, and turn what we in- "tend for a blessing into a curse."—Let me ask this benevolent man, what he means by a blessing intended for us? Did he mean sinking us and our children into ignorance and wretchedness, to support him and his family? What he meant will appear evident and obvious to the most ignorant in the world. ☞See Mr. Caldwell's intended blessings for us, O! my God!! "No," said he, "if "they must remain in their present situation, keep "them in the *lowest state of degradation and igno-* "*rance.* The nearer you bring them to the condition "of brutes, the better chance do you give them of pos- "sessing their *apathy.*" Here I pause to get breath, having laboured to extract the above clause of this gentlemen's speech, at that colonizing meeting. I presume that every body knows the meaning of the word "apathy," if any do not let him get Sheridan's Dic-

tionary, where he will find it explained in full. I solicit the attention of the world, to the foregoing part of Mr. Caldwell's speech, that they may see what man will do with his fellow men, when he has them under his feet. To what length will not man go in iniquity when given up to a hard heart, and reprobate mind, in consequence of blood and oppression ? The last clause of this speech, which was written in a very artful manner, and which will be taken for the speech of a friend, without close examination and deep penetration, I shall now present. He says "surely, Americans ought to be the last people on earth, "to advocate such slavish doctrines, to cry peace "and contentment to those who are deprived of the "privileges of civil liberty, they who have so largely "partaken of its blesssings, who know so well how "to estimate its value, ought to be among the foremost to extend it to others." The real sense and meaning of the last part of Mr. Caldwell's speech, is, get the free people of colour away to Africa, from among the slaves, where they may at once be blessed and happy, and our slaves, will be contented to rest in ignorance and wretchedness, to dig up gold and silver for us and our children. Men have indeed, got to be so cunning, these days, that it would take the eye of a Solomon to penetrate and find them out.

Extract from the speech of Mr. John Randolph, of Roanoke.

Said he:—"It had been properly observed by the "Chairman, as well as by the gentleman from this "District, (meaning Messrs. Clay and Caldwell) "that there was nothing in the proposition submitted to consideration which in the smallest degree "touches another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much out of view "as possible, (Negro Slavery.)

"There was no fear, Mr. R. said, that this proposition would alarm the slave-holders; they had "been accustomed to think seriously of the subject.

"There was a popular work on agriculture, by John "Taylor of Caroline, which was widely circulated, "and much confided in, in Virginia. In that book, "much read because coming from a practical man, "this description of people [referring to us half free "ones,] were pointed out as a great evil. They had "indeed been held up as the greater bugbear to ev- "ery man who feels an inclination to emancipate his "slaves, not to create in the bosom of his country "so great a nuisance. If a place could be provided "for their reception, and a mode of sending them "hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands of citi- "zens, who would, by manumitting their slaves, re- "lieve themselves from the cares attendant on their "possession. The great slave-holder, Mr. R. said, "was frequently a mere sentry at his own door— "bound to stay on his plantation to see that his "slaves were properly treated, &c. Mr. R. con- "cluded by saying, that he had thought it necessa- "to make these remarks, being a slave-holder him- "self, to shew that, so far from being connected "with abolition of slavery, the measure proposed "would prove one of the greatest securities to ena- "ble the master to keep in possession his own prop- "erty."

Here is a demonstrative proof, of a plan got up, by a gang of slave-holders, to select the free people of colour from among the slaves, that our more miserable brethren may be the better secured in ignorance and wretchedness, to work their farms and dig their mines, and thus go on enriching the christians with their blood and groans. What our brethren could have been thinking about, who have left their native land and home and gone away to Africa, I am unable to say. This country is as much ours as it is the whites, whether they will admit it now or not, they will see and believe it by and by. They tell us about prejudice—what have we to do with it? Their prejudices will be obliged to fall like lightning to the ground, in succeeding

generations; not, however, with the will and consent of all the whites, for some will be obliged to hold on to the old adage, viz: the blacks are not men, but were made to be an inheritance to us and our children, forever !!!!!! I hope the residue of the coloured people, will stand still and see the salvation of God, and the miracle which he will work for our delivery from wretchedness under the christians !!!!!!!

Before I proceed further with this scheme, I shall give an extract from the letter of that truly Reverend Divine, (Bishop Allen,) of Philadelphia, re-respecting this trick. At the instance of the Editor of the Freedom's Journal, he says, * "Dear Sir, I "have been for several years trying to reconcile "my mind to the Colonizing of Africans in Liberia, "but there have always been, and there still re-"main, great and insurmountable objections against "the scheme. We are an unlettered people, brought "up in ignorance, not one in a hundred can read or "write, not one in a thousand has a liberal educa-"tion, is there any fitness for such to be sent into a "far country, among heathens, to convert or civilize "them when they themselves are neither civilized or "christianized ? See the great bulk of the poor ig-"norant Africans in this country, exposed to every "temptation before them; all for the want of their "morals being refined by education and proper at-"tendance paid unto them by their owners, or those "who had the charge of them. It is said by the "Southern Slave-holders, that the more ignorant "they can bring up the Africans, the better Slaves "they make, "go and come." 'Is there any fit-"ness for such people to be Colonized in a far coun-"try to be their own rulers ? Can we not discern "the project of sending the Free People of Colour "away from their country ? Is it not for the in-"terest of the Slave-holders to select, the free people

* See Freedom's Journal for November 2d, 1827—vol. 1, No. 34.

"of colour out of the different states, and send them "to Liberia ? Will it not make their Slaves unea- "sy to see free men of colour enjoying liberty ? It "is against the law in some of the Southern States, "that a person of Colour should receive an educa- "tion under a severe penalty. Colonizationists, "speak of America being first Colonized, but is "there any comparison between the two? America "was colonized by as *wise, judicious* and *educated* "men as the world afforded. *William Penn* did "not want for *learning, wisdom,* or *intelligence.*— "If all the people in Europe and America were as "ignorant, and in the same situation as our breth- "ren, what would become of the world; where "would be the principle or piety that would govern "the people? We were *stolen* from our mother coun- "try and brought *here.* We have *tilled* the ground "and made fortunes for thousands, and still they "are not weary of our services. *But they who stay "to till the ground must be slaves.* Is there not land "enough in America, or "corn enough in Egypt?" "why should they send us into a far country to die? "See the thousands of foreigners emigrating to "America every year : and if there be ground suffi- "cient for them to cultivate, and bread for them to "eat; why would they wish to send the *first tillers* "of the land away? Africans have made fortunes "for thousands, who are yet unwilling to part with "their services; but the free must be sent away, "and those who remain must be *slaves.* I have no "doubt that there are many good men who do not "see as I do; and who are for sending us to Libe- "ria, but they have not duly considered the subject— "they are not men of colour. This land which we "have watered with our *tears* and *our blood,* is now "our *mother country,* and we are well satisfied to "stay where wisdom abounds and the gospel is free."

"RICHARD ALLEN,
"*Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal*
"*Church in the United States.*"

I have given you, my brethren, an extract, verbatim, from the letter of that godly man, as you may find it on the aforementioned page of Freedom's Journal. I know that thousands, and perhaps millions of my brethren in these States, have never heard of such a man as Bishop Allen—a man whom God many years ago raised up among his ignorant and degraded brethren, to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified to them—who notwithstanding, had to wrestle against principalities and the powers of darkness to diffuse that gospel with which he was endowed, among his brethren—but who having overcome the combined powers of devils and wicked men, has, under God planted a church among us which will be as durable as the foundation of the earth on which it stands. Richard Allen! O my God!! the bare recollection of the labours of this man, and his ministers among his deplorably wretched brethren, (rendered so by the whites,) to bring them to a knowledge of the God of Heaven, fills my soul with all those very high emotions, which would take the pen of an Addison to portray. It is impossible my brethren for me to say much in this work respecting that man of God. When the Lord shall raise up coloured historians in succeeding generations, to present the crimes of this nation, to the then gazing world, the Holy Ghost will make them do justice to the name of Bishop Allen, of Philadelphia.—Suffice it for me to say, that the name of this very man (Richard Allen) though now in obscurity and degradation, will notwithstanding, stand on the pages of history among the greatest divines who have lived since the apostolic age, and among the Africans Bishop Allen's will be entirely pre-eminent. My brethren, search after the character and exploits of this godly man, among his ignorant and miserable brethren, to bring them to a knowledge of the truth as it is in our Master. Consider upon the tyrants and false christians against whom he had to contend, in order to get access to his brethren.—

See him and his ministers in the State of New-York, New-Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, and in fact as far into the South as he was allowed to go, carrying the gladsome tidings of free and full salvation to the coloured people. Tyrants and false christians however, would not allow him to penetrate far into the South, for fear that he would awaken some of his ignorant brethren, whom they held in wretchedness and miseries—for fear, I say it, that he would awaken and bring them to a knowledge of their Maker. O my Master! my Master!! I cannot but think upon Christian Americans!!!—What kind of people can they be? Will not those who were burnt up in Sodom and Gomorrah rise up in judgement against Christian Americans with the Bible in their hands, and condemn them? Will not the Scribes and Pharisees of Jerusalem, who had nothing but the laws of Moses and the Prophets to go by, rise up in judgement against Christian Americans, and condemn them, who, in addition to these have a revelation from Jesus Christ the son of the living God? In fine, will not the Antideluvians, together with the whole heathen world of antiquity, rise up in judgement against Christian Americans and condemn them? The Christians of Europe and America go to Africa, bring us away, and throw us into the seas, and in other ways murder us, as they would wild beasts. The Antideluvians and heathens never dreamed of such barbarities.—Now the Christians believe, because they have a name to live, while they are dead, that God will overlook such things. But if he does not deceive them, it will be because he has overlooked it sure enough. But to return to this godly man, Bishop Allen. I do hereby openly affirm it to the world, that he has done more in a spiritual sense for his ignorant and wretched brethren than any other man of colour has, since the world began. And as for the greater part of the whites, it has hitherto been their greatest object and glory to keep us ignorant

of our Maker, so as to make us believe that we were made to be slaves to them and their children to dig up gold and silver for them. It is notorious that not a few professing christians among the whites, who profess to love our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, have assailed this man and laid all the obstacles in his way they possibly could, consistent with their profession—and what for? Why, their course of proceeding and his, clashed exactly together—they trying their best to keep us ignorant, that we might be the better and more obedient slaves—while he on the other hand, doing his very best to enlighten us and teach us a knowledge of the Lord. And I am sorry that I have it to say, that many of our brethren have joined in with our oppressors, whose dearest objects are only to keep us ignorant and miserable, against this man to stay his hand. However, they have kept us in so much ignorance, that many of us know no better than to fight against ourselves, and by that means strengthen the hands of our natural enemies, to rivet their infernal chains of slavery upon us and our children. I have several times called the white Americans our *natural enemies*—I shall here define my meaning of the phrase. Shem, Ham and Japheth, together with their father Noah and wives, I believe were not natural enemies to each other. When the Ark rested after the flood upon the mount of Ararat in Asia, they (eight) were all the people which could be found alive in all the earth—in fact if Scriptures be true (which I know are) there were no other living men in all the earth, notwithstanding some ignorant creatures hesitate not to tell us that we (the blacks) are the seed of Cain, the murderer of his brother Abel. But where those ignorant and avaricious wretches could have got their information, I am unable to declare. Did they receive it from the Bible? I have searched the Bible as well as they, if I am not as well learned as they are, and have never seen a verse which testifies whether we are the seed of Cain or of Abel.—

Yet those men tell us that we are the seed of Cain; and that God put a dark stain upon us that we might be known as their slaves !!!! Now I ask those avaricious and ignorant wretches, who act more like the seed of Cain, by murdering, the whites or the blacks?—How many vessel loads of human beings, have the blacks thrown into the seas? How many thousand souls have the blacks murdered in cold blood, to make them work in wretchedness and ignorance, to support them and their families?—However, let us be the seed of Cain, Harry, Dick or Tom !!! God will show the whites what we are, yet. I say, from the beginning, I do not think that we were natural enemies to each other. But the whites having made us so wretched, by subjecting us to slavery and having murdered so many millions of us, in order to make us work for them, and out of devilishness—and they taking our wives whom we love as we do ourselves—our mothers who bore the pains of death to give us birth—our fathers and dear little children, and ourselves and strip and beat us, one before the other—chain hand-cuff and drag us about like rattle-snakes—shoot us down like wild bears, before each other's faces, to make us submissive to, and work to support them and their families. They (the whites,) know well, if we are men, and there is a secret monitor in their hearts which tells them we are, they know, I say, if we are men, and see them treating us in the manner they do, that there can be nothing in our hearts but death alone, for them; notwithstanding, we may appear cheerful, when we see them murdering our dear mothers and wives, because we cannot help ourselves. Man, in all ages and all nations of the earth is the same. Man is a peculiar creature—he is the image of his God, though he may be subjected to the most wretched condition upon earth, yet that spirit and feeling which constitute the creature, man, can never be entirely erased from his breast, because the God who made him after his own image planted it in his heart, he cannot get rid

of it. The whites knowing this, they do not know what to do, they know that they have done us so much injury they are afraid, that we, being men, and not brutes, will retaliate, and woe will be to them, therefore, that dreadful fear, together, with an avaricious spirit, and the natural love in them, to be called masters, (which term we will yet honour them with to their their satisfaction,) bring them to the resolve, that they will keep us in ignorance and wretchedness, as long as they possibly can, and make the best of their time while it lasts. Consequently they, themselves, (and not us,) render themselves, our natural enemies, by treating us so cruel. They keep us miserable now, and call us their property, but some of them will have enough of us by and by—their stomachs shall run over with us, they want us for their slaves, and shall have us to their fill. (We are all in the world together!!) I said above, because we cannot help ourselves, (viz. we cannot help the whites murdering our mothers and our wives) but this statement is incorrect—for we can help ourselves, for if we lay aside abject servility & be determined to act like men, and not brutes—the murderers among the whites would be afraid to show their devilish heads. But Oh! my God—In sorrow, I must say it, that my Colour all over the world, have a mean, servile spirit. They yield in a moment to the whites, let them be right or wrong. The reason the whites are able to keep their feet on our throats. Oh! my Coloured Brethren all over the world, when shall we arise from this death-like apathy?—And be men!! You will notice, if ever we become men, (I mean respectable men as other people are,) we must exert ourselves to the full. For remember, that it is the greatest desire and object of the greater part of the whites, to keep us ignorant, and make us work to support them and their families—Here now, in the Southern and Western Sections of this country, there are at least three Coloured persons for one white, why is it that those few weak, good for noth-

ing whites, are able to keep so many able men, one of whom, can put to flight a dozen whites, in wretchedness and misery. ? It shows at once, what the blacks are, we are ignorant, abject, servile, and mean—and the whites know it—they know that we are too servile to assert our rights as men—or they would not fool with us as they do. Would they fool with any other people as they do with us ? No, they know too well, that they would get themselves ruined Why do they not bring the inhabitants of Asia to be body servants to them ? They know they would get their bodies rent and torn from head to foot. Why do they not get the Aborigines of this country to be slaves to them and their children, to work their farms and dig their mines ? They know well that the Aborigines of this continent, or (Indians) would tear them from the earth. The Indians would not rest day or night, they would be up all times of night, cutting their cruel throats. But my Colour (some, not all,) are willing to stand still and be murdered by the cruel whites. In some of the West-India Islands, and over a large part of South America, there are six or eight blacks for one white. Why do the blacks not take possession of those places ? Who hinders them? it is not the Avaricious whites—for they are too busily engaged in laying up money—derived from the blood and tears of the blacks. The fact is, the blacks are too servile, they love to have Masters too well ! ! ! ! ! ! Some of our brethren, too, who seeking more after self aggrandizement, than the glory of God, and the welfare of their brethren, join in with our oppressors, to ridicule and say all manner of evils falsely against our Bishop. They think, that they are doing great things, when they can get in company with the whites, to ridicule and make sport of those who are labouring for their good. Poor ignorant creatures, they do not know that the sole aim and object of the whites, are only to make fools and slaves of them, and put the whip to them, and make them work to

support them and their families.—But I do say, that no man, can well be a despiser of Bishop Allen, for his public labours among us, unless he is a despiser of God and of Righteousness.—Thus, we see, my brethren, the two very opposite positions of those great men, who have written respecting this "Colonizing Plan," (Mr. Clay and his Slave-holding party,) men who are resolved to keep us in eternal wretchedness, are also bent upon sending us to Liberia. While the Reverend Bishop Allen, and his party, men who have the fear of God, and the wellfare of their brethren at heart. The Bishop, in particular, whose labours for the salvation of his brethren, are well known to a large part of those, who dwell in the United States, are completely opposed to the plan. And advise us to stay where we are. Now we have to determine whose advice we will take respecting this all important matter, whether we will adhere to Mr. Clay and his slave-holding party, who have always been our oppressors and murderers, and who are for colonizing us, more through apprehension than humanity, or to this godly man who has done so much for our benefit, together with the advice of all the good & wise among us and the whites.—Will any of us leave our homes and go to Africa? I hope not. Let them commence their attack upon us as they did on our brethren in Ohio, driving and beating us from our country, and my soul for theirs, they will have enough of it. Let no man of us budge one step, and let slave-holders come to beat us from our country. America is more our country, than it is the whites—we have enriched it with our *blood and tears*. The greatest riches in all America have arisen from our blood and tears:—and will they drive us from our property and homes, which we have earned with our *blood*? They must look sharp or this very thing will bring swift destruction upon them. The Americans have got so fat upon our blood and groans, that they have almost forgotten the God of armies. But let them go on.

How cunning slave-holders think they are!!!—How much like the king of Egypt, who after he saw plainly that God was determined to bring out his people, in spite of him and his, as powerful as they were. He was willing that Moses, Aaron and the Elders of Israel, but not all the people should go and serve the Lord. But God deceived him as he will christian Americans, unless they are very cautous how they move. What would have become of the United States of America, was it not for those among the whites, who not in words barely, but in truth and in deed, love and fear the Lord?—Our Lord and Master said:—*"Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, "it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in "the depth of the sea." But the Americans with this very threatening of the Lord's, not only beat his little ones among the Africans, but many of them they put to death or murder. Now the avaricious Americans, think that the Lord Jesus Christ will let them off, because his words are no more than the words of man!!!! In fact, many of them are so avaricious and ignorant, that they do not believe in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Tyrants may think they were so skillful in State affairs is the reason that the government is preserved. But I tell you, that this country would have been given up long ago, was it not for the lovers of the Lord. They are indeed, the salt of the earth. Remove the people of God among the whites, from this land of blood, and it will stand until they cleverly get out of the way.

I adopt the languge of the Rev. Mr. S.E. Cornish, of New York, editor of the Rights of All, and say: "Any "coloured man of common intelligence, who gives his "countenance & influence to that colony, further than "its missionary object and interest extend, should be "considered as a traitor to his brethren, and discar-

*See St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. xviii. v. 6.

"ded by every respectable man of colour. And every "member of that society, however pure his motive, "whatever may be his religious character and mor- "al worth, should in his efforts to remove the col- "oured population from their rightful soil, the land "of their birth and nativity, be considered as acting "gratuitously unrighteous and cruel."

Let me make an appeal brethren, to your hearts, for your cordial co-operation in the circulation of "The Rights of All," among us. The utility of such a vehicle if rightly conducted, cannot be estimated. I hope that the well informed among us, may see the absolute necessity of their co-operation in its universal spread among us. If we should let it go down, never let us undertake any thing of the kind again, but give up at once and say that we are really so ignorant and wretched that we cannot do any thing at all!!—As far as I have seen the writings of its editor, I believe he is not seeking to fill his pockets with money, but has the welfare of his brethren truly at heart. Such men, brethren, ought to be supported by us.

But to return to the colonizing trick. It will be well for me to notice here at once, that I do not mean indiscriminately to condemn all the members and advocates of this scheme, for I believe that there are some friends to the sons of Africa, who are laboring for our salvation, not in words only but in truth and in deed, who have been drawn into this plan.—Some, more by persuasion than any thing else; while others, with humane feelings and lively zeal for our good, seeing how much we suffer from the afflictions poured upon us by unmerciful tyrants, are willing to enroll their names in any thing which they think has for its ultimate end our redemption from wretchedness and miseries; such men, with a heart truly overflowing with gratitude for their past services and zeal in our cause, I humbly beg to examine this plot minutely, and see if the end which they have in view will be completely consummated

by such a course of procedure. Our friends who have been imperceptibly drawn into this plot, I view with tenderness, and would not for the world injure their feelings, and I have only to hope for the future, that they will withdraw themselves from it; for I declare to them, that the plot is not for the glory of God, but on the contrary the perpetuation of slavery in this country, which will ruin them and the country forever, unless something is immediately done.

Do the colonizationists think to send us off without first being reconciled to us? Do they think to bundle us up like brutes and send us off, as they did our brethren of the State of Ohio ? Have they not to be reconciled to us, or reconcile us to them, for the cruelties with which they have afflicted our fathers and us ? Methinks colonizationists think they have a set of brutes to deal with, sure enough. Do they think to drive us from our country and homes, after having enriched it with our blood and tears, and keep back millions of our dear brethren, sunk in the most barbarous wretchedness, to dig up gold and silver for them and their children ? Surely, the Americans must think that we are brutes, as some of them have represented us to be. They think that we do not feel for our brethren, whom they are murdering by the inches, but they are dreadfully deceived. I acknowledge that there are some deceitful and hypocritical wretches among us, who will tell us one thing while they mean another, & thus they go on aiding our enemies to oppress themselves and us. But I declare this day before my Lord and Master, that I believe there are some true hearted sons of Africa in this land of oppression, but pretended *liberty!!!!!* Who do in reality feel for their suffering brethren, who are held in bondage by tyrants. Some of the advocates of this cunningly devised plot of Satan represent us to be the greatest set of cut throats in the world, as though God, want us to take his work out of his hand before he is ready.—

Does not vengeance belong to the Lord ? Is he not able to repay the Americans for their cruelties, with which, they have inflicted Africa's sons and daughters, without our interference, unless we are ordered ? It is surprising to think, that the Americans, having the Bible in their hands, do not believe it. Are not the hearts of all men in the hands of the God of battles ? And does he not suffer some in consequence of cruelties, to go on until they are irrecoverably lost ? Now, what can be more aggravating, than for the Americans, after having treated us so bad, to hold us up to the world, as such great throat cutters ? It appears to me as though they are resolved to assail us with every species of affliction that their ingenuity can invent. (☞See the African Repository and Colonial Journal, from its commencement to the present day—see how we are through the medium of that periodical, abused and held up to the world by the Americans, as the greatest nuisance to society, and throat cutters in the world.) But the Lord sees their actions. Americans! notwithstanding you have and do continue, to treat us more cruel, than any heathen nation, did a people it had subjected to the same condition, that you have us. Now let us reason. I mean you of the United States, whom I believe God designs to save from destruction, if you will hear. For I declare to you, whether you believe it or not, that there are some on the continent of America, who will never be able to repent. God will surely destroy them to show you, his disapprobation of the murders, they & you have inflicted on us. I say let us reason, had you not better take our body while you have it in your power, and while we are yet ignorant and wretched, not knowing but a little, give us education, and teach us the pure religion of our Lord and Master, which is calculated to make the lion lay down in peace with the lamb, and which millions of you have beaten us nearly to death for trying to obtain since, we have been among you, and thus, at once, gain our affection, while we are ignorant ? Remember Americans, that we must

and shall be free and enlightened as you are, will you wait until we shall, under God, obtain our liberty by the crushing arm of power? Will it not be dreadful for you? I speak Americans for your good. We must and shall be free I say, in spite of you. You may do your best to keep us in wretchedness and misery, but God will deliver us from under you. And wo, wo, will be to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting. Throw away your fears and prejudices then, and enlighten us and treat us like men, and we will like you more than we do now hate you,* and tell us no more about colonization, for—America is as much our country, as it is yours.—Treat us like men, and there is no danger but we all will live in peace and happiness together. For we are not like you, hard hearted, unmerciful, and unforgiving. What a happy country this will be, if the whites will listen. What nation under heaven, will be able to do any thing with us, unless God gives us up into its hand? But Americans, I declare to you, while you keep us and our children in bondage, and treat us like brutes, to make us support you and your families, we cannot be your friends. You do not look for it, do you? Treat us then like men, and we will be your friends. And there is not a doubt in my mind, but that the whole of the past, will be sunk into oblivion, and we yet, under God, will become a united and happy people. The whites may say it is impossible, but remember, that nothing is impossible with God.

The Americans may say or do as they please, but they have to raise us from the condition of brutes to that of respectable men, and to make a national acknowledgment to us for the wrongs they have inflicted on us. As unexpected, strange, and wild as these propositions may to some appear, it is no less a fact, that unless they are complied with, the Americans of the United States, though they

* You are not astonished at my saying we hate you, for if we are men, we cannot but hate you while you are treating us like dogs.

may for a little while escape, God will yet weigh them in a balance; and if they are not superior to other men, as they have represented themselves to be, he will give them wretchedness to their very heart's content.

And now brethren, having concluded these four Articles, I submit them, together with my Preamble, dedicated to the Lord, for your inspection, in language so very simple, that the most ignorant, who can read at all, may easily understand—of which you may make the best you possibly can—Should tyrants take it into their heads to emancipate any of you, remember that your freedom is your natural right. You are men, as well as they, and instead of returning thanks to them for your freedom, return it to the Holy Ghost, who is our rightful owner. If they do not want to part with your labours which have enriched them, let them keep you, and my word for it, that God Almighty, will break their strong band. Do you believe this my brethren?—See my Address, delivered before the General Coloured Association of Massachusetts, which may be found in Freedom's Journal, for Dec. 20, 1828.—See the last clause of that Address. Whether you believe it or not, I tell you that God will dash tyrants, in combination with Devils, into atoms, and will bring you out from your wretchedness and miseries under these *Christian People!!!!!!*

Those philanthropists and lovers of the human family, who have volunteered their services for our redemption from wretchedness, have a high claim on our gratitude, and we should always view them as our greatest earthly benefactors.

If any are anxious to ascertain who I am, know the world, that I am one of the oppressed, degraded and wretched sons of Africa, rendered so by the avaricious and unmerciful, among the whites.—If any wish to plunge me into the wretched incapacity of a slave, or murder me for the truth, know ye, that I am in the hand of God, and at your dispo-

sal. I count my life not dear unto me, but I am ready to be offered at any moment. For what is the use of living, when in fact I am dead. But remember, Americans, that as miserable, wretched, degraded and abject as you have made us in preceeding, and in this generation, to support you and your families, that some of you, (whites) on the continent of America, will yet curse the day that you ever were born. You want slaves, and want us for your slaves!!! My colour will yet, root some of you out of the very face of the earth!!!!!! You may doubt it if you please. I know that thousands will doubt—they think they have us so well secured in wretchedness, to them and their children, that it is impossible for such things to occur. So did the antideluvians doubt Noah, until the day in which the flood came and swept them away. So did the Sodomites doubt, until Lot had got out of the City, and God rained down fire and brimstone from heaven, upon them and burnt them up. So did the king of Egypt doubt the very existence of a God, he said, "who is the Lord, that I should let Israel go?" Did he not find to his sorrow, who the Lord was, when he and all his mighty men of war, were smothered to death in the Red Sea?— So did the Romans doubt, many of them were really so ignorant, that they thought the world of mankind were made to be slaves to them; just as many of the Americans think now, of my colour.— But they got dreadfully deceived. When men got their eyes opened, they made the murderers scamper. The way in which they cut their tyrancal throats, was not much inferior to the way the Romans or murderers, served them, when they held them in wretchedness and degradation under their feet. So would Christian Americans doubt, if God should send an Angel from heaven to preach their funeral sermon. The fact is, the christians having a name to live, while they are dead, think that God will screen them on that ground.

See the hundreds and thousands of us that are thrown into the seas by christians, and murdered by them in other ways. They cram us into their vessel holds in chains and in hand-cuffs—men, women and children all together !! O ! save us we pray thee, thou God of heaven and of earth, from the devouring hands of the white christians !!!!!!

Oh ! thou Alpha and Omega !
The beginning and the end,
Enthroned thou art, in Heaven above,
Surroun'd by Angels there.

From whence thou see'st the miseries
To which we are subject ;
The whites have murdered us, O God !
And kept us ignorant of thee.

Not satisfied with this, my Lord !
They throw us in the seas.
Be pleased, we pray, for Jesus' sake,
To save us from their grasp.

We believe, that for thy glory's sake,
Thou wilt deliver us ;
But that thou may'st effect these things,
Thy glory must be sought.

In conclusion, I ask the candid and unprejudiced of the whole world, to search the pages of Historians deligently, and see if the Antideluvians—the Sodomites—the Egyptians—the Babylonians—the Ninevites—the Carthagenians—the Persians—the Macedonians—the Greeks—the Romans—the Mahometans—the Jews---or devils, ever treated a set of human beings, as the white Christians of America, do us the blacks, or Africans.---I also, ask the attention of the world of mankind, to the declaration of these very American people, of the United States.

A Declaration made July 4, 1776.

It says, *"When in the course of human events, "it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve "the political bands which have connected them "with another, and to assume among the Powers of "the earth, the separate and equal station to which "the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle "them. A decent respect for the opinions of mankind "requires, that they should declare the causes which "impel them to the separation.-----We hold these "truths to be self evident—that all men are created "equal, that they are endowed by their Creator "with certain unalienable rights; that among these, "are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, "to secure these rights, governments are instituted "among men, deriving their just powers from the "consent of the governed; that when ever any form "of government becomes distructive of these ends, it "is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, "and to institute a new government laying its "foundation on such principles, and organizing its "powers in such form, as to them shall seem most "likely to effect their safety and happiness. Pru-"dence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long "established should not be changed for light and "transient causes; and accordingly all experience "hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to "suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right "themselves by abolishing the forms to which they "are accustomed. But when a long train of abu-"ses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same "object, evinces a design to reduce them under abso-"lute despotism, it is their right it is their duty to "throw off such government, and to provide new "guards for their future security." See your dec laration, Americans!!! Do you understand your own language? Hear your language, proclaimed to the world, July 4, 1776—☞"We hold "these truths to be self evident—that ALL MEN

*See the Declaration of Independence of the United States.

"ARE CREATED EQUAL!! that they *are endowed* "*by their Creator with certain unalienable rights;* "that among these are life, *liberty,* and the pursuit "of happiness!!" Compare your own language above, extracted, from your Declaration of Independence, with your cruelties and murders inflicted by your cruel and unmerciful fathers and yourselves on our fathers and on us—men who have never given your fathers or you the least provocation!!!!!!

Hear your language further! ☞"But when a "long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing "invariably the same object, evinces a design to re-"duce them under absolute despotism, it is their "*right,* it is their *duty,* to throw off such govern-"ment, and to provide new guards for their future "security."

Now, Americans! I ask you candidly, was your sufferings under Great Britain, one hundrenth part as cruel and tyranical as you have rendered ours under you? Some of you, no doubt, believe that we will never throw off your murderous government and "provide new guards for our future "security." If Satan has made you believe it, will he not deceive you?* Do the whites say, I being a black man, ought to be humble, which I readily admit? I ask them, ought they not to be as humble as I? or do they think that they can measure arms with Jehovah? Will not the Lord yet humble them? or will not these very blacks, (my colour) whom they now treat worse than brutes, yet under God, humble them low down enough? Some of the whites are ignorant enough to tell us, that we ought to be submissive to them, that they may keep their feet on our throats. And if we do not submit to be beaten to death by them, we are bad creatures and of course must be damned, &c. If any man

*The Lord has not taught the Americans that we will not some day or other throw off their chains and hand-cuffs, from our hands and feet, and their devlish lashes (which some of them shall have enough of yet) from off our backs.

wishes to hear this doctrine openly preached to us by the American preachers,let him go into the Southern and Western sections of this country.---I do not speak from hear-say—what I have written, is what I have seen and heard myself. No man may think that my book is made up of conjectures—I have travelled and observed nearly the whole of these things myself,and what little I did not get by my own observation, I received from those among the whites and blacks in whom the greatest confidence may be placed

The Americans may be as vigilant as they please, but they cannot be vigilant enough for the Lord, neither can they hide themselves, where he will not find and bring them out.

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1 Thy presence why withdraw'st thou, Lord ?
Why hid'st thou now thy face,
When dismal times of deep distress,
Call for thy wonted grace ?

2 The wicked, swell'd with lawless pride,
Have made the poor their prey ;
O let them fall by those designs
Which they for others lay.

3 For straight they triumph, if success
Their thriving crimes attend ;
And sordid wretches, whom God hates,
Perversely they commend.

4 To own a pow'r above themselves,
Their haughty pride disdains;
And therefore in their stubborn mind
No thought of God remains.

5 Oppressive methods they pursue,
And all their foes they slight ;
Because thy judgments unobserv'd,
Are far above their sight.

6 They fondly think their prosp'rous state
Shall unmolested be ;
They think their vain designs shall thrive,
From all misfortune free.

7 Vain and deceitful is their speech,
With curses fill'd, and lies ;
By which the mischief of their heart
They study to disguise.

8 Near public roads they lie conceal'd,
And all their art employ,

The innocent and poor at once
To rifle and destroy.

9 Not lions, couching in their dens,
Surprise their heedless prey
With greater cunning, or express
More savage rage than they.

10 Sometimes they act the harmless man,
And modest looks they wear;
That so deceiv'd, the poor may less
Their sudden onset fear.

PART II.

11 For God they think, no notice takes
Of their unrighteous deeds
He never minds the suff'ring poor,
Nor their oppression heeds.

12 But thou, O Lord, at length arise,
Stretch forth thy mighty arm;
And by the greatness of thy pow'r
Defend the poor from harm.

13 No longer let the wicked vaunt,
And, proudly boasting, say,
"Tush, God regards not what we do;
"He never will repay."—*Common Prayer Book.*

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1 Shall I for fear of feeble man,
The Spirits course in me restrain?
Or, undismay'd in deed and word,
Be a true witness of my Lord.

2 Aw'd by mortal's frown, shall I
Conceal the word of God Most High!
How then before thee shall I dare
To stand, or how thine anger bare?

6 Shall I to sooth th' unholy throng,
Soften the truth, or smooth my tongue,
To gain earth's gilded toys or flee
The cross endur'd, my Lord, by thee?

7 What then is he whose scorn I dread?
Whose wrath or hate makes me afraid,
A man! an heir of death! a slave
To sin! a bubble on the wave!

8 Yea, let men rage: since thou wilt spread
Thy shadowing wings around my head:
Since in all pain thy tender love
Will still my sure refreshment prove.

Wesley's Collection.

ERRATA.—Page 34, 9th line from the top, read his son did not learn instead, of did learn. Also, same page, 8th line from the top, in the word width there is a small typographical error.